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***A Corpus-based study of Norwegian Learners' (over-)use of  
Extraposition in Written English Argumentation***

***by***

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## PART I METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### 1 Introduction

This thesis examines the use of extraposition in a corpus of written argumentative essays by Norwegian learners of English. In functionalist-oriented studies of native speaker English (NSE), the extraposition structure (specifically subject *it*-extraposition) is seen to have the prototypical function of enabling the objective presentation of speaker comment (e.g. Kaltenböck 2005a 212-214, Herriman 2000b 582, Collins 1994 22, Biber et al. 1999 977). Similarly, in the Systemic linguistics framework broadly adopted presently, extraposition is termed an objective interpersonal metaphor (e.g. Thompson 2004 232-3). As an ‘objective’ or impersonal mode of framing a comment, extraposition has been found to occur to a greater extent in NSE argumentative (or ‘persuasive’) text types such as press editorials and academic writing (e.g. Kaltenböck 2005a 74,<sup>1</sup> Herriman 2000a 222-3). Another concept presently drawn from Systemic linguistics (esp. Halliday, Thompson) concerns ‘Theme’: the matrix *it*-clause of extraposition provides a ‘frame’ for the following proposition, the interpersonal comment contained in the matrix clause is thematised. This interpretation follows, for example, Gomez-Gonzalez’ (1997) and Thompson’s (2004 152-3) analyses of theme in extraposition, and departs from Halliday’s (ibid).

The present functionalist approach may be seen to depart also from perhaps more traditional accounts of extraposition, here generalised under the term “paradigmatic” (see Chap 4 defining extraposition), in that there is no analysis of its structural ‘alternate’ in the paradigm, non-extraposition (cf. Kaltenböck 2004 1). Functional analyses in this strain consider extraposition in relation to the more marked (statistically) functionality of its alternative, non-extraposition, leading to a focus on textual functionality: by contrast the present study is firmly focussed on extraposition’s interpersonal meanings. While extraposition has the impersonal prototypical function, variability is also a hallmark of its functioning, as can be seen in the variety of substructures which have been considered in studies of stance. The aim of the present study of the NICLE corpus is to provide a detailed account of the communicative properties of *it*-extraposition (esp. chapter 5,6) within the context of its use in the learner corpus. The approach is thus a functional one, investigating the use of the construction in the persuasive texts written by Norwegian learners of English,

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<sup>1</sup> That academic writing is not merely a form of purely ‘objective’ reporting, i.e. it is not without features which represent the subjective opinions, etc., of the writers, has been shown – by contrast to earlier analyses – in more recent approaches, e.g. Hyland ^.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Granger (1996 46), whose use of the appellation “second language acquisition” comprehends that the

which constitute the ‘NICLE’ corpus (the Norwegian component of the International Corpus of Learner English). The increasing availability of such learner corpora, of particular relevance in the increasingly globalised context of English (or “Englishes”, cf. Crystal 2003; Connor 1996 12)) and of increasing dominance of the English language in academic writing (e.g. Hyland 2009 4; Swales 2009 291), enables elucidation of what has been called the basic “fact” of second language acquisition – transfer<sup>2</sup>.

### **1.1 Aim and scope of the study**

While the present study is exploratory and corpus-driven, aspects of such an endeavour remain to limit the scope of the enquiry as regards to the comparability of corpora (in chapter 2) and the relative corpus sizes (for instance in the collection of samples for comparison) leads to an inevitable limitation on the interpretive weight of the findings. In regards to theoretical considerations, as opposed to many studies of extraposition, the current study does not examine non-extraposition.

### **1.2 Statement of research questions**

With the overall aim of examining the NICLE corpus and the use of extraposition therein, the study intends to address the following specific questions:

- i) Overuse of extraposition: based on insights from contrastive analysis, it is hypothesised that the NICLE learners will overuse the extraposition structure, thus evidencing “transfer” of word order patterns from their L1 (Norwegian).
- ii) Regardless of the actualisation of the transfer from L1 hypothesised in (i) (but potentially resulting from it), the advanced learners in NICLE are expected to misuse / differentially use extraposition than English native speaker (NSE) norms of use in argumentative writing, resulting in a lack of idiomatic- or ‘foreign-sounding’- use of extraposition; an aim is to qualify the learners use of extraposition.
- iii) How to characterise the differential use of extraposition in (ii)- what are the causes of deviation from native speaker (NSE) norms of argumentative writing,

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Granger (1996 46), whose use of the appellation “second language acquisition” comprehends that the primacy of the transfer hypothesis applies to foreign language learning, as well as the narrower sense which some interpret to be disparate from the foreign language, or classroom, context of learning. The status of English in Norway, is however, said to be approaching that of a second language (cf. Johansson 2009).

surrounding the use of the impersonal construction? Are there any pedagogical implications for the findings?

These questions are all somewhat interrelated- the intention is to examine the functionality of the extraposition structure in the material, and to compare this with the norms of NSE argumentative writing. As we will discover, these questions assume that the function of extraposition is not a monolithic category.

### **1.3 Thesis outline**

Chapter 2, describes the Materials and Method employed. The description and selection of the primary learner corpus and materials used for comparison are made in compliance to the demand for methodological rigour following the “Integrated Contrastive Model” (ICM), which has as a primary concern the comparability of corpora.

Chapter 3, following the ICM, summarises insights from previous contrastive studies (primarily of interlanguages, Norwegian, and English) used to inform the overuse or transfer hypothesis, primarily concerning theme and modality in the transfer of word order patterns. The chapter also summarises relevant interlanguage expectations garnered from previous ICLE research (mostly), which form the background for earmarking likely variables of particular relevance affecting the NICLE argumentation style in use of extraposition.

Chapter 4, defining extraposition, situates the varied strands of previous theoretical approaches in the context of a corpus study, and also surveys the previous corpus-based analyses of extraposition and their varying analyses and approaches with respect to both the structure and function of extraposition, which both may be seen to operate in a cline, representing more or less prototypical category membership of structures and functions. Analogous and comparable structures of stance expression and involvement seen in previous approaches are considered here. The chapter provides a statement of the structures considered extraposition as opposed to borderline extrapositions and other structures of analogous functionality. Previous analyses of the function of extraposition in relation to the definitions of theme, interpersonal function, and register sensitivity are used to inform the inclusions and exclusions contained in the results sections.

Part II presents and analyses the results.



In Chapter 5, the overuse question is addressed with respect to quantitative findings of NICLE as compared with other interlanguages and NSE use of extraposition in argumentative target genre. Genre or text type sensitivity of extraposition- an assumption based on previous studies- is evidenced in the cline and range of semantic/ functional and structural variation. The range of extraposition subtypes evidencing word order transfer or not, and addresses the question of overuse.

Chapter 6 provides a more qualitative analysis of the findings presented in chapter 5, here a more in-depth consideration is given of the variation within NICLE in regards to semantic types and the question of reader-writer visibility (otherwise termed authorial involvement or stance). Further evaluations regarding the impact of the task and learner variables are reassessed with respect to cultural differences in the samples from the Chinese learner style of stance and evidence of register interference.

Chapter 7 summarises and concludes, addressing the research hypotheses, and any pedagogical implications of the study are discussed.

## 2 Materials and Method

This chapter contains a description of the primary data source (the ‘NICLE’ corpus) used, followed by brief descriptions of the secondary corpora which were used for comparative purposes (corpora of native speaker/ L1 English and L1 Norwegian- writing; and various samples of corpora of other interlanguage groups). The processing method and contexts of extraction of the relevant samples (extrapositions and comparative structures such as ‘subjective interpersonal metaphors’, e.g. *I think*) are then introduced summarily – so as not to predetermine issues of theory discussed later (in Chapters 3 and 4) regarding the definitions and limits of the extraposition structure. The chapter commences with a description of the overall methodological model used presently, the Integrated Contrastive Model (or ‘ICM’), which is introduced and situated within the functionalist theoretical framework used. With the aim of contextualising the current work, some methodological and theoretical convolutions as regards the general oeuvre of corpus analysis seen to have an impact upon the validity and comprehensiveness of this project are considered throughout the chapter.

### 2.1 Methodological Rigour and the ICM

Corpus-based descriptions of language rely on quantitative observations of actual language use whereby frequencies (given in terms of occurrence of feature per 10 000 words, for instance) are used to characterise the register under examination. In the present case, observing the register of advanced Norwegian learners of English (which from the outset may best be approached as ‘accented English’- as opposed to observations of ungrammatical use more relevant to the domain of Error Analysis and less advanced learners), it is hypothesised that the group’s performance will be distinguishable from NSE usage in terms of frequencies of usage of the particular linguistic phenomenon, in this case, of extraposition (and subjective stance- see Chapters 3 and 4 on this feature’s inclusion). In order to facilitate “SLA” (Second Language Acquisition) and “EFL” (English as a Foreign Language) work (cf. Granger et al 2009 i), the ICLE corpus designers set two basic, strict, requirements of task and learner variables: EFL, not ESL, advanced learners, tasked to produce “academic writing (mainly argumentative)” (Granger et al. 2009 3), as it was recognised that without strict controls over the learner corpus materials, precise statements over interlanguage phenomena are impeded (ibid). At the outset, however, even these basic requirements must be recognised to be fluid. For instance, the blurring of the line between foreign and second language learning is perceptible in light of observations such as Johansson’s (2009 192) on the shifting status of

English in Norway. So, with some qualification, Jarvis' (2000) criterion of methodological rigour requiring observation of inter-L1-group differences "essential in establishing transfer" (Granger et al. 2009 45), is complied with, in comparing the NICLE groups use of extraposition with use by learners of other L1 backgrounds (cf. section 2.3.4, below). However, various limitations- dictated often by the lack of available materials – persist in the pursuit of comparable corpora, in terms of both task and learner variables, as described below under the relevant corpus' description.

Similar concerns arise regarding the access to matching corpora of the task, or genre, of the material - the second basic variable (as above) to be controlled in the ICLE material– in terms of comparability of corpora and generally framing the question of potential overuse of extraposition. In Hasselgård's (2009) exploratory analysis of a small sample of NICLE writing with the aim of investigating "whether Norwegian learners apply Norwegian patterns in their written English" (Hasselgård 2009 122), a significantly higher use of extraposition possibly found<sup>3</sup> in NICLE relative to both Norwegian and English original fiction texts, and is possibly attributed to genre differences (Hasselgård 2009 124-5). As stated in the opening of this study, a key aspect of extraposition's functionality is its increasing use in argumentative text types, i.e. extraposition's genre sensitivity. While the genre of the ICLE material is purportedly academic/ argumentative (as above), expectations as to normative behaviour in these two text types are variable, for example 'involvement' (see chapters 3 and 4) behaviours (by learners and NSE writers) have been found to vary depending on subject field or discipline (e.g. Hyland 2004 10, 2011 179), and research into discourse and rhetoric in language learning research focuses on increasingly finer divisions of subgenres within academic discourse (such as grant applications, abstracts, introductions, reviews, etc.). Therefore, an attempt has been made to examine the use of extraposition in a range of NSE text types (cf. 2.3.2 below, NSE editorials are included in the comparison), this issue will be returned to in the analysis section (in Part II). However the notion of a 'norm' of use of extraposition as represented by its use in the academic genre, may be seen to be restrictive not only in regard to the background of expert knowledge as compared to the general knowledge basis represented in the novice writer tasks (applicable to all the corpora referred to below, aside from the professional writing text categories mentioned in 2.3.2 below). Crucially, the

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<sup>3</sup> As discussed in the review of Hasselgård's (2009) contrastive (and CIA) analyses relating to theme (below, in section 3.2), an analysis of learner overuse of extraposition in NICLE relative to Norwegian and English language originals cannot be stated categorically here, in that Hasselgård's quantitative findings are related to the category of "empty themes / anticipatory subjects", which collapses anticipatory *it* and existential *there*.

prerequisite of comparability of corpora for describing the NICLE learner use of extraposition relative to some target or quantitative average of NSE behaviour is problematic as the student writer's argumentative essay "is, in many respects, a genre of its own which does not exist anywhere else in the public sphere" (Herriman 2006 12). This issue remains problematic in the present study due to the discrepancy in task setting variable between the NICLE corpus, and LOCNESS material- a collection of NSE student argumentative essays (see below, section 2.3.2).

### **2.1.1 Integrated Contrastive Model (ICM) and Contrastive Interlanguage Analysis (CIA)**

At the heart of the "Integrated Contrastive Model" (Granger 1996, Gilquin 2003) – which incorporates both Contrastive Analysis (CA) and Contrastive Interlanguage Analysis (CIA) approaches – is the value of a large-scale quantitative analysis of suitably controlled corpora for uncovering the 'foreign-soundingness' of a particular interlanguage (IL), seen as characterised by "a unique matrix of frequencies of occurrence of various linguistic forms" (cf. Krzeszowski 1990 212, cited in Granger 1996 43).<sup>4</sup> On the basis of contrastive insights, one can anticipate potential transfer sites, and conversely consideration of general interlanguage characteristics facilitates the potential attribution of quantitative departures from native speaker use observed in learner language to various aspects of the learner's background – such as transfer "proper", transfer of patterns cultural rhetoric, or developmental factors, etc. . Pertinent insights from previous CA and CIA studies are outlined in the subsequent chapter. The ICM is particularly useful for disambiguating the complex interplay of various potential influences of L1 transfer, developmental factors<sup>5</sup>, cultural influences, etc., which are anticipated to be at play in learners' ILs, in that it assumes the primacy of the influence from L1 (or transfer 'proper'). Granger's (1996 46) describes the ICM as being informed by this basic 'SLA fact' of transfer, referring to Selinker's attribution of transfer as "a basic, if not *the* basic, SLA learning strategy". The development of hypotheses from contrastive analysis (CA) findings (see Chapter 3) as an appropriate methodology for approaching the analysis of learners' interlanguage is thus integral to the methodology of the ICM (cf. Granger 1996 46; 2002 13).

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. overuse (or underuse, or even misuse) of extraposition.

<sup>5</sup> The terms 'developmental' or 'universal' factors are used interchangeably here in reference to those influences present in the learner language which are not L1-dependent, and occur consistently across different groups of learners (i.e. with various L1 backgrounds, cultural backgrounds, etc.).

In this approach, it is therefore of paramount importance to have suitable control corpora of native speaker ('NS') usage due to the genre-sensitivity of linguistic structures. This is especially so in the present case, as the extraposition structure has been shown to be prone to vary across text types in NSE (e.g. Herriman 2000a, Kaltenböck 2004, Biber et al. 1999, etc.), i.e. extraposition is used to a greater extent in 'argumentative' text types. While this criterion is potentially problematic (see below on the corpora), the ICM methodology also entails (CIA) comparison with other interlanguages: where differential use of extraposition does not occur similarly across various L1 groups of English learners (in the same text type), the (over)use can be more safely attributed to transfer rather than developmental or other non-culture specific facts.<sup>6</sup> However, it must be stressed that in these questions of frequencies as characterising an interlanguage, not only are *tendencies* over a large and naturally varying (although within specified controls) learner group - rather than absolutely proscribed individual linguistic behaviours - the proper subject of description; it is also invalid to contemplate the exclusion or inclusion of any of the named influences which constitute the interlanguage. For instance where two influences such as developmental and L1-dependent coincide directionally to create the likelihood of overuse of a structure, the most that can be concluded from detailed analysis is that one or other of the influences may be stronger than the other in the instance (cf. Jarvis 2000). We may comfort ourselves that such a conclusion can bring to light applications to counter interferences which are thus clarified.

### 2.1.2 Comparability of corpora: functional concerns

One outstanding issue regarding the collection of materials for comparison with to a 'target' genre requiring consideration relating to the variable for construal of target norms, concerns topic. Aijmer (2002: 60) warns of the need to interpret with caution some of the results of her study comparing a range of modal expressions in the SWICLE corpus with native speaker writing (in LOCNESS and other corpora) due to "the difference in topics (cf. Barberesi 1987; Fairclough 1995) and above all, text types (literary vs. argumentative)".<sup>7</sup> Observing this

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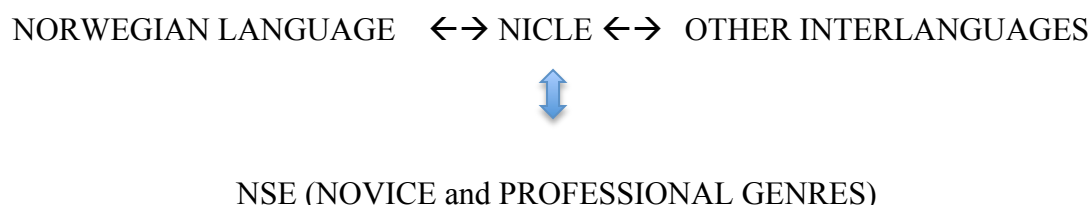
<sup>6</sup> A third further criterion for characterising the overuse (beyond NS vs. NNS, and different IL comparisons) is sometimes mentioned: that the particular learner group consistently displays this frequentative trait (e.g. Jarvis 2000). However this view is somewhat at odds with the observed characterisation within particular ILs of individual variation (cf. citation in BOA, and Granger 2002 discussion of computer tools).

<sup>7</sup> Aijmer's (2002) study, entitled "Modality in advanced Swedish learners' written interlanguage" (referring to Dagneaux 1995, at 60) finds that NSE writers modal use is greater than French learners when the "topic" is argumentative, and vice versa when the topic was literary; also she refers to Hinkel's (1995) study demonstrated the importance of topic on the frequency of particular modals comparing NSE vs. NNS's from China, Japan, Vietnam, etc., finding these NNSE overused *must*.

warning, in the present analysis the various topics have been isolated for particular analysis at the later stage to elucidate the effect of this variable on the learners' use of extraposition and other modal expressions, discarding those topics which received a minimal response rate. Care has also been taken to select argumentative text types in the comparison of native-speakers' and the other learner groups' writings with the NICLE corpus: the NSE learner writing in the LOCNESS corpus (1/4 of which contains non-argumentative writing), as well as in respect to the French and Chinese learner, and the Norwegian language, samples, as described presently in the following section.

## 2.2 Corpus Materials considered in the study

Structural concerns persist with respect to comparison of other corpora and previous results used for quantitative comparisons and qualitative inferences with NICLE due to the variable definitions of extraposition; furthermore various analogous and borderline structures and clines of are seen to inform the discussion. Negotiation between the various structures and their definitions in these studies, as well as regards the different genres represented in the different corpora referred to, is therefore required throughout. However, an overall map of corpora groups that the study incorporates in pursuit of the kinds of comparisons required by the methodological model adopted, with a focus on argumentative genres within the language groups, is given as follows:



### 2.2.1 Description of the primary NICLE corpus used

The entire 'NICLE' corpus – or the Norwegian component of the International Corpus of Learner English ('ICLE') – was compiled relatively recently (the Norwegian subcomponent was first included in the second CD-ROM version of ICLE, released in 2009; Granger et al. 2009: 1) in overall compliance with the guidelines set by the ICLE project (see <http://www.fltr.ucl.ac.be/fltr/germ/etan/cecl/Cecl-Projects/Icle/icl.htm> for a description). It consists of approximately 250 000 words and 350 essays of the interlanguage of advanced learners of English whose L1 is Norwegian. The NICLE (sub-)corpus, as presented here,

excludes material as below for control of task variables concerning genre (topic and non-argumentative- i.e. literary and descriptive- writing), reducing the actual NICLE data considered presently to a total of approximately 150 000 words. Thus, in summary for present purposes and the clarification of the NICLE corpus text-type, the NICLE corpus consists of approximately 146 260 words in 208 argumentative essays on topics with sufficient representation (see Appendix 2). The production context is untimed, not under exam conditions, with or without reference materials. Thus the NICLE sub-corpus used (henceforth referred to as the NICLE corpus) contains the essay writing of ‘advanced’ (first year of English studies at university level, cf. Hasselgård 2007 2), foreign language (cf. L2) learners of English with the same L1 (mother tongue) background, i.e. Norwegian. Students were presented with a list of topics (see Appendix 2) of which they were to select one to take home and ‘discuss’ in an essay of approximately 500-1000 words (submitted electronically), thus the category of writing is untimed, ungraded, argumentative style student essays.

For the purposes of this thesis, only the argumentative essays were considered relevant and any purely descriptive essays and the literature examination essay genre (intended to constitute no more than 25% of the corpus) were excluded at the outset. In case of there being a possible skewing of results due to the particular argumentative topic the learner selected, as reported by Aijmer (2002 60) in regard to use of modal auxiliaries by SWICLE (Swedish learners) writers, only those topics with a minimum level of respondents were considered (thirteen respondents was the lowest, approximately 9000 words in total) in order to be able to disambiguate any topic sensitivity effect.

In regard to the categorization of the corpus as consisting of ‘EFL’ writing, it has been noted that the status of English in Norway is shifting to that of being a second language (cf. Johansson 2009 192). Johansson also notes that the British English variety has traditionally dominated in the teaching domain, in comparison to American English, although the two varieties “have equal status in the Norwegian schools”(Johansson 2009 193).

### **2.2.2 ‘Comparative’ (NSE) Corpora**

The English native-speaker (NSE) materials used for comparison with the primary corpus are derived mainly from previous corpus analyses of exposition. The most comprehensive previous corpus studies are of British English: Kaltenböck (2004) uses the ICE-GB corpus (the British component of the International Corpus of English), and Herriman (2000) the LOB corpus (the Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus). These studies, beyond their size and control of

the ‘culture’ variable (at least with regard to using the British English variety only), are felicitous to the aims of the present study in that they distinguish the category of text-type in recording extrapositions. Thus results from these corpora are useful in containing representations of the ‘norm’ or target use of extraposition in persuasive writing (cf. editorials and academic writing). However, in further consideration of genre comparability regarding non-professional (or student) writing criterion, the task type of these larger NSE corpora is less directly comparable to ICLE subcorpora than the LOCNESS corpus described below. For instance, by comparison to the shorter (ca. 500 word entire essays) samples in (N)ICLE, both the LOB and ICE-GB corpora – including the latter’s non-professional writing (W1A) components- consist of longer (2000 word) samples (cf. Kaltenböck 2004 6, Meyer 2002 147), in the ICE-GB student writing these are both timed (exam conditions) and untimed samples. Such cases of longer, timed samples of student writing, suggest a depth of familiarity (‘expertise’) with the topics the students expound upon- as opposed to the general knowledge or subjective foundations upon which the ICLE writers expound. Crucially, the NSE corpora (aside from LOCNESS) belong to the expository rather than argumentative text-type genre.

Observations of student NSE use of extraposition are therefore also drawn from Boström Aronsson’s (2005) thesis, which contains an analysis of themes in a selected sample of the LOCNESS corpus- the Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays. This NSE corpus was designed specifically for comparison with the ICLE corpus, and contains essays written by American and British students who are mostly at university level (although some of the British essays are by A-level students). The sample used in Boström Aronsson’s (2005) thesis contains mostly American English writing (approximately 150 000 words of writing by the American students and an additional 25 000 words from the British A-level students), as the British university student writing is often more expository (cf. Boström Aronsson 2005 55). In view of the varying definitions of extraposition used in the previous studies (see further in Chapter 4) and in order to control for effects of genre and culture variables on the use of extraposition, a small (British) NSE sample from the ‘LOCNESS’ corpus was collated for the present study to supplement as necessary the analyses of NSE use of extraposition in previous studies.

The 20000 word LOCNESS sample (described in detail in Appendix 2) presently collated, consists of 36 argumentative essays by British students, half on the topic of ‘A single Europe: a loss of sovereignty for Britain?’ (18 essays, ca. 10 000 words), the remainder on the



topics, ‘Has the computer made the brain redundant?’ and in-vitro fertilisation (or genetic manipulation). Essays on the first two topics were written by university students, whereas essays on the final topic were produced by A-level students. A particular purpose of the collation of this sample was to control for the variable of culture, in this case only British NSE student writing. However, in order to compile a sample of this size from the British component of LOCNESS, the variables of age (A-level students being younger), task setting (whether or not the essays are written in exam conditions, i.e. untimed/ timed) and topic are somewhat compromised.<sup>8</sup> In general, beyond the issue of the non-argumentative type of most of the British essays in the LOCNESS component, the university essays furthermore also lack comprehensive specification with respect to learner variables (cf. with incomplete profiles, [www.uclouvain.be/en-cecl-locness.htm](http://www.uclouvain.be/en-cecl-locness.htm): 7).

### **2.2.3 Interlanguage Comparisons /Other Learner English groups**

As with the comparative NSE materials (in the previous section 2.2.2), here again a combination of previous results regarding the use of extraposition is supplemented by various compiled samples, to inform the question of overuse in the NICLE corpus. Earlier reports of other interlanguage groups’ usage include the Swedish learners in ICLE, as reported in Boström Aronsson’s (2005) thesis, and Hewings and Hewings (2002) record of extraposition’s use in a sample of non-native speakers (NNS) of English of unspecified L1 backgrounds. The latter study is problematic in terms of genre comparability, beyond its lack of specification of the learners’ L1 background, as the NNS materials are comprised of ca. 200 000 words from 15 masters’ dissertations (Hewings and Hewings 2002 371). The former study of Swedish learner writing, while extensive (approximately 175 000 words of Swedish learner writing in the Swedish component of the ICLE corpus- henceforth ‘SWICLE’; Boström Aronsson 2005 54), diverges from a particularly rigorous standard of comparability with the NICLE material especially in regard to the task setting variable: a majority (60%) of

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<sup>8</sup> Boström Aronsson also expresses some reservation regarding the comparability of the SWICLE, and her sample of, the LOCNESS subcorpora in regard to task variables including topic and what Ädel terms “intertextuality” (i.e. access to secondary sources, cf. Ädel 2008): “Although both the NNS corpus and the NS corpus consist of argumentative essays, it should be noted that there may be differences between the two samples as a result of differences in the assignments given to the students. The topics of the NS essays are often of a type that encourages the writers to take a personal stand on a moral issue, whereas this is not the case in many of the topics available to the Swedish NNSs. Moreover, the NSs sometimes base their arguments on secondary sources included in the assignment given to the students, whereas no such sources and assignments have been available to the Swedish NNSs. Differences in the assignments and topics may give rise to various types of differences between the NNS and NS texts (Ädel 2003:219). Although topic is a factor that may have an influence on differences between NNS and NS texts, the wide variety of topics represented in both the NNS corpus and the NS corpus should delimit the risk that differences found are due to differences in the topics dealt with.” (Boström Aronsson 2005 57-58)

the SWICLE essays are produced under timed, exam conditions (ibid), whereas the NICLE material is all untimed (and thus access to secondary materials is possible). Furthermore, a small portion of non-argumentative text types (or at least borderline-expository) was included (ibid), and there are other discrepancies in terms of variables of age, gender, etc., which are perhaps not as foreboding as the task setting variable discrepancy in light of Ädel's (2008) observation of the significance of the effect of this variable on learners' "involvement" in the text (finding that learner writers' 'overly involved style' was "... primarily due to task setting (time available) and intertextuality (access to secondary sources)"; Ädel 2008 35). This is obviously of concern in the present study of the "impersonal" extraposition structure.

Further motivation to supplement the reports of extraposition's use for comparison with NICLE is derived from the concerns in the opposite direction, viz. the closeness of materials from the two Scandinavian learner groups. Similarity of Swedish and Norwegian languages is well established linguistically (e.g. Johansson 1996 217) and, likely also pertains to an extent regarding the two cultures given their historical and geographical proximity and level of continuing intercourse. Furthermore, the two learner groups are treated synonymously in observations of "Scandinavian English" (e.g. Hasselgård 2009 123-4). As the stated purpose of examining other IL groups here is to test whether any differences in the primary group's behaviour is shared (or not) by other IL groups, and thus more (or less) probably attributable to shared characteristics of learner interlanguage, rather than relatable to transfer from L1, for example (or other distinguishing characteristics of the particular learner group, such as transfer of cultural patterns of rhetoric). With this in mind, two 20 000 word samples from across the range of linguistically and culturally divergent groups were collected for comparison with NICLE, from two other ICLE subcorpora with French (termed here the 'FRICLE' sample) and Chinese (Cantonese) ('CHICLE') L1 backgrounds. The CHICLE sample (see further in appendix 2) unfortunately also suffers similarly to the SWICLE material in regard to the issue of the task setting variable, as the CHICLE essays are timed under exam conditions with no reference tools available, in contrast to the untimed at-home essays produced by the Norwegians. Other significant mismatches of variables here are mostly concerning the 'learner variables' (as opposed to task variables, as described in the ICLEv2 handbook in Granger et al. 2009 4) regarding the different learning contexts, English proficiency, and of course L1 background. A "clearly tentative" study (based on an independent grading of 20 essays from each subcorpora) of the ICLE groups suggested the Chinese writers may have a significantly lower English proficiency than most of the other

ICLE groups, with the Norwegians somewhere in the midrange compared to the Swedish who group towards the most advanced levels in the tested sample (Granger et al 2009 11-12), as do the French L1 writers. In relation to the learning contexts, the Norwegian and Chinese language groups again diverge sharply, with the Norwegians perhaps approaching the more ESL end of this “fuzzy” category (cf. Granger et al 2009 10), whereas the reverse trend has occurred in Hong Kong, with the status of English tending more towards an auxiliary language and thus towards an EFL context (ibid), a point to be kept in mind when comparing the learner background variable with the averages of 13 (Chinese) as opposed to 8-10 (Norwegian) years of English schooling (cf. Lin 2009 182; ICLEv2 CD-ROM database field; Johansson 2009 193).

A further departure in the CHICLE material comparability with NICLE in relation to task variables is topic, with the two topics of the Chinese essays randomly selected so as to be representative of this task variable (rather than having a multitude of different topics). With circumspection, it may be claimed that the two topics of the CHICLE sample- whether to develop a particular nature reserve and a railway line to the mainland – are less incendiary than some topics in the NICLE material (including ethical concerns such as abortion, crime, and conscription, however at the other end of the spectrum is, for example, the topic of imagination in the modern world), and therefore possibly less likely to provoke an argumentative stance. By contrast, the French L1- ‘FRICLE’- sample (see further Appendix 2) of approximately 20 000 words is a better match for the NICLE task variables as the argumentative essays selected are not only untimed and furthermore often with coinciding topics.

#### **2.2.4 ‘Analogous’ Corpus sample (NSN)**

A small, approximately 20 000 words, Norwegian language (bokmål) corpus of argumentative student writing was compiled from a website (<http://www.skoleforum.com/stiler/resonnerende/>) offering a selection of argumentative essays on various topics not unlike those of NICLE (e.g. abortion, crime and punishment, TV and technology, etc.- see Appendix 2). The primary concern with this material in terms of comparability with NICLE is in regard to the age variable, with this material being written by students aged approximately fifteen years (unfortunately this criterion is not entirely specified on the site), i.e. significantly younger than the NICLE writers whose average age is 23.94 (Granger et al. 2009 8). Some task and learner variables are left unspecified (e.g. L1

background) and must be assumed, however the genre comparability match seems fitting in terms of the task setting variable, with the materials being voluntarily submitted, as is comparable to the untimed, non-exam conditions of the NICLE material.

### **2.3 Filemaker and Categorisations**

As the NICLE corpus is unannotated in terms of extraposition, i.e. there is no ‘ANTIT’ - or anticipatory ‘it’ - tag in the grammatical markup (as opposed to the case, for example, in the fully tagged and parsed ICE-GB corpus used in Kaltenböck’s study, cf. Kaltenböck 2004 7), a manual search of the NICLE corpus was required to retrieve records of extrapositions (and other features deemed relevant, for example ‘SS’ - or subjective stance markers, etc.- see Chapters 3 and 4). Extracts were then collected into the Filemaker database program, enabling the definition and recording of various values of categories and features (see the example extract and category description in Appendix 1), thus using Filemaker to further annotate the samples manually. Due to the manual nature of this task, it was possible to record relevant details of the co-text (for instance co-occurrence of writer involvement features) and the position in text of the extracts (e.g. the value ‘P//’ shows the extract occurred in the opening of the first paragraph). Beyond the NICLE Filemaker records, similar (although somewhat pared back) databases were created for recording extrapositions and relevant features in the other corpora samples presently compiled (as described above, i.e. LOCNESS, FRICLE, CHICLE and the Norwegian language essays).

### **3 Previous contrastive and interlanguage studies**

Following from the ICM methodology, as outlined in the previous chapter, the research questions of the present corpus-based analysis, are to be informed by previous insights from both more traditional “CA” (Contrastive Analysis) studies, and the more recent work in “CIA” (i.e. Contrastive Interlanguage Analysis involving “comparisons between native and learner varieties”; Granger 1996 43, which entails “two types of comparisons: (1) NL vs IL i.e. comparisons of native and non-native varieties of one and the same language. Within ICLE, we contrast English as a first language and as a foreign language. (2) IL vs IL, i.e. comparisons of different interlanguages of the same language: the English of French learners... Swedish learners [and Norwegian and Chinese learners in the present study]” Granger 1996 44). The use of these materials involves a “constant to- ing and fro- ing... CA data helps analysts to formulate predictions about interlanguage which can be checked against the CA data... CIA results can only be reliably interpreted as being evidence of transfer if supported by clear CA descriptions...” (Granger 1996 46). The following two sections contain descriptions of relevant data of these two kinds provided by previous research, followed by a summary of what these studies predict for the present interpretation of the use of extraposition.

#### **3.1 Previous Interlanguage Studies**

A most significant finding for the present study is drawn from Boström Aronsson’s analyses of the overuse of interpersonal themes by Swedish learners in the SWICLE corpus (Boström Aronsson 2005, Herriman and Boström Aronsson 2009), as compared to the native speaker student writings in the LOCNESS corpus. Interpersonal themes comprehend (Herriman and Boström Aronsson 2009 103) modal adjuncts and subjective stance markers occurring in thematic position (see Chapter 4 discussion of Theme), as well as objective interpersonal metaphors, i.e. extraposition (again, see Chapter 4), and cleft constructions (Herriman and Boström Aronsson 2009 104). Further comparison with the LOB corpus revealed a greater use of dynamic, epistemic, and evaluative semantic extraposition types by the Swedish learners, (again, see Chapter 4 on the semantic categories of extraposition), while deontic extrapositions were used similarly by both learner and native speaker writers (Herriman and Boström Aronsson 2009 108). Furthermore, an increased tendency for the learners to use multiple themes “combin[ing] a thematic objective interpersonal metaphor with another modal theme” was observed, although these findings in relation to the LOB corpus were

qualified with respect to potential register differences (and Herriman's 2000a inclusion of non-thematic structures; Herriman and Boström Aronsson 2009 f9 109). Herriman and Boström Aronsson surmise that "[i]t appears then that there is a tendency for NNS to foreground their opinions and evaluative comments by selecting interpersonal metaphors as themes. [...] This heavy foregrounding of personal opinions and attitudes appears to be even more common here than in spoken English..." (Herriman and Boström Aronsson 2009 109).

### **3.1.1 Conversation register characteristics**

Boström Aronsson (2005) and Herriman and Boström Aronsson (2009) consider the Swedish learners overuse (relative to NSE novice writers) of multiple themes (hence a smaller proportion of simple themes) in relation to previous studies of theme across register, (Fries' 1995 summary of theme across text types, and Ghadessy's 1995 study of multiple themes across register, cited in Boström Aronsson 2005 68-9) finding the learners' use representative of a style approaching the norms of conversation (or writing styles closer to speech) rather than academic writing norms: "All this suggests, then, that although simple themes are generally the most common, multiple themes account for a larger proportion of themes in spoken language than in written... To sum up, the NNSs tend to use more multiple themes than the NSs and more complex multiple themes, i.e. multiple themes consisting of several thematic units. A frequent use of multiple themes seems to be a characteristic more typical of spoken language and of texts written to be spoken than of argumentative writing" (ibid). Similarly, Aijmer finds that NSE novice writers (LOCNESS) typically use the stance and involvement marker as a single theme, unlike the increased complexity of themes with *I think* seen in the NNS (SWICLE) writing (Aijmer 2001 255).

Register interference, in particular from conversation, has frequently been cited as a feature of non-native speaker ('NNS', or learner) "academic" writing in learner corpora analyses across interlanguages of various L1 backgrounds (e.g. Gilquin and Paquot 2008; Paquot 2010 137,152; Petch-Tyson 1998 114- 116; Aijmer 2002 72-3 – citing on point: Altenberg & Tapper 1998; Granger & Rayson 1998; Meunier 2000; Tappenberg 1997 cited in Ädel 2006 145; Pall 2008 117-118; Neff et al. 2004 151; Hunston 2008 207-8). This interference is shown by the learner writers' increased use of features more frequent to the conversation register than written modes, as exemplified above in Boström Aronsson and Herriman's analysis of Swedish learners overuse of multiple themes. Further evidence includes Swedish learners' increased use of the subjective stance marker *I think* (Aijmer 2001

256) and generally increased use of personal pronouns (Petch-Tyson 1998- also Dutch, Finnish, and French learners) and certain expressions of modality (Aijmer 2002). Production of oral/ informal styles of learner academic writing however may be a facet shared by learner and NSE “novice” writers alike (e.g. Granger and Paquot 2009 195), as follows below.

### **3.1.2 Novice writers (developmental influences) v. Learner writers**

Neff et al. (2004) point to a commonality between “novice” NS and NNS groups “lack of rhetorical awareness of the interpersonal conventions in written academic evidence” (Neff et al 2004 142, 157-158) in their shared overuse of subjective stance markers, by comparison to professional NSE writers. By contrast, Neff et al.’s (2004) observation of the use of objective stance markers (including certain extraposition types<sup>9</sup>) distinguished the NNS/ learner group alone: “In the construction of objective writer stance ...significant differences were found between all the EFL writers and the native writers [professional and student NSE]” (Neff et al. 2004 158). Certain semantic subtypes of the objective stance markers were overused (extrapositions connoting “obviousness”) while there was a misuse of objective concessive forms with unsupported strong claims and also (over/)misuse of agentless passives forms (again a subtype of extraposition<sup>10</sup>). Hewings and Hewings’ (2002) comparison of the use of extraposition by learner student writers (of unspecified L1 backgrounds) with professional academic writing, distinguishes within the general learner overuse of extrapositions observed, a differential usage according to the various semantic/ functional types of extrapositions considered (hedges, attitude markers, emphatics, and attribution), between the NNS novice and professional academic writers: in fact the novice learner writers underuse hedges when compared to professional “published” academic writing (Hewings and Hewings 2002 374). Herriman (2006) finds some similarities between her two groups of novice writers- Swedish learners (SWICLE) and British and American NSE student writers (LOCNESS)- distinguishing them from professional writers (in “opinion” pieces in British newspapers); however, quantitatively, the Swedes distinguished themselves using twice as many *I*-references as both NSE writer groups. Qualitatively however, both novice writer types (NS and NNS) constructed a similarly strong authorial presence “...especially by categorically

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<sup>9</sup> “Concessive constructions signalled by *It is true/certain/clear/obvious that...*” (Neff et al 2004: 141). Other objective stance constructions considered are “hypothetical-real constructions such as *Some might think that/ It might be argued that X, [...] but Y.*” (ibid). Their EFL data is taken from the Dutch, French, Italian and Spanish ICLE subcorpora, the NSE novice writing utilises the American essays in LOCNESS, while the professional NSE writing is from a corpus of editorials (Neff et al 2004 148).

<sup>10</sup> Agentless passive constructions mentioned here were: “*it is commonly believed that...* or *it is frequently said that*” (Neff et al 2004: 158).

proclaiming their arguments with *I think* and *I feel*, etc., and by making metalinguistic comments which guide the reader through the text, manage the topic, and signpost its development. On the other hand, both groups of student writers used less *I*-reference to express Affect than professional writers [...] and less often present on the content level to construct the ‘Autobiographical Self’ aspect of their writer identity” (Herriman 2006 12).

### **3.1.3 Involvement and Cultural patterns of rhetoric**

Various studies consider the possibility of learners’ “lack of rhetorical awareness”, or inexperience with the conventions of writing in English in terms of “reader-writer visibility”, or “involvement”, referring to the norms of stance involved in English language academic (or persuasive) writing that the learners contravene. Several such studies observe a more “overt presence” by learner writers (e.g. Petch-Tyson 1998 117; Paquot 2010 157), analogous with observations of overuse of subjective markers and other features of conversation register-interference. For example, Aijmer refers to learners’ overuse of *I think* as functioning to “... make their claims more persuasive and provide more weight”, whereas the native speakers use the same structure with different effect: “... a less rhetorical style. When the writer bases himself on what others think more uncertainty is allowed and *I think* is used as a hedge” (Aijmer 2001 256). One possible explanation for the Swedish learners’ increased involvement in the text, related to register interference, lies in the culture of the surrounding discourse community, in “...the blurring between public and private discourse as responsible for the ‘personalisation’ witnessed in the use of *I think* in political discourse...” (ibid). Ädel (2006 145) makes a similar statement and further suggests informality in Swedish discourse may be related to post-war egalitarianism (Ädel 2006 150).

Other writers also refer to the potential differing discourse conventions between the learners L1 community and NSE written argumentative conventions (e.g. Neff et al. 2004 159; Aijmer 2002 73; Paquot 2010 152; Hyland 2011 180). Hyland (2002) examines subjective stance markers in “L2 writing” by students in Hong Kong, and finds that these learners display the reverse trend to the Swedish writers with a “...tentativeness and reluctance to display an authoritative persona among Asian writers [which] may, in part, be a product of a culturally and socially constructed view of self...”, as opposed to “... Anglo-American academic conventions [which] encourage a conscious exploitation of authorial



identity” (Hyland 2002 1111)<sup>11</sup>. Hyland generalises that academic writing in English tends to “be more explicit about its structure and purposes; employ more [...] citations; be more cautious in making claims, with considerable use of mitigation and hedging” (Hyland 2011 181). However, learner Asian writers (as well as non-Asian groups referenced above) have also shown more informal, conversation-like patterns in their academic writing in English (cf. Hyland and Milton 1997, as cited in Granger and Paquot 2009 195). One cause of learner differences in the expression of stance in their argumentative writing in English may, therefore, be relatable to a “transfer” of rhetorical patterns: “... [it] may be that [Swedish] learners are more used to expressing their viewpoints when they write in their mother tongue and transfer patterns and rhetorical features into the new language” (Aijmer 2001 256). By contrast to the Swedish personalised rhetorical styles, the Asian learners of Hyland’s 2002 study were seen to display less authorial involvement when compared to professional writers in learner underuse of author pronouns (Hyland 2002 1098).

### **3.1.4 Conspectus of CIA variables**

Observations of general interlanguage behaviours relevant to argumentative writing, apart from features directly attributable to L1 transfer (see next section), have been observed along the axis of subjective-objective modality, with more subjective styles of stance frequently observed in various learner populations’ persuasive writing being attested to potential register interference in the exhibition of speech-like patterns. Learner’s departure from NSE norms of objective stance use include underuse of hedging, and generally stronger, more personalised claims. Qualitative and quantitative departures from norms of NSE professional/ expert argumentation regarding authorial presence were observed in the areas of theme and use of stance marking, potentially transcending learner (and novice) writers’ inexperience with the academy’s conventions and emanating from the influence of differing cultural expectations of authorial involvement in a text. Attributions of causes behind learner’s differential use from NSE norms depend crucially on comparability of corpora with regard to genre, as discussed in the previous chapter under task (e.g. task setting variables such as availability of secondary sources/ exam conditions Ädel 2006: 203) and learner variables.

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<sup>11</sup> However, elsewhere Hong Kong learner writing has been seen to be “too direct” (Hunston 2008 207 on Flowerdew’s 2000 findings that these writer’s underuse hedging devices).

One such variable specifically critical to comparing the use of stance in learner argumentative writing with the NSE argumentative writing genre, is that of topic<sup>12</sup> (ibid; Ädel 2006 143-4; Herriman 2006/forthcoming 12; Aijmer 2002 59-60) which will be observed (in the analysis following), as this variable is not entirely possible to control due to certain genre mismatches (as in the previous chapter regarding task setting in LOCNESS) and potentially the status of NSE novice writers distinguishes them from learner groups in that NSE writers, “at least”, may be required by “the conventions of academic writing” to be “impersonal” in their writing, (Herriman 2006 12)<sup>13</sup>. Furthermore the inclusion of various norms of NSE argumentative writing for comparison with the particular genre type realised by NICLE is desirable as one of the questions posed by this thesis is whether the learner group conforms to the norms of expert (academic or professional editorial) NSE writing in regard to the expression of stance: in the analysis of objective stance, in extraposition, the observation of excessive and coinciding expressions of subjective stance is clearly a significant aspect of the learners argumentation. One possible trend may be, therefore, that the (in general, over-) expression of subjective stance (in terms of informality and speech-like patterning) marking may be a characteristic shared by novice writers, whereas the misuse of objective stance marking may be a feature of learner groups alone.

### **3.2 Previous Contrastive Analyses**

The extraposition structure occurs in both Norwegian and English (e.g. Johansson and Lysvåg 1987 325). As in the present analysis, subject *it*-extraposition (generally referred to throughout this study simply as ‘extraposition’ - although see the following chapter for alternative interpretations and exclusions) is also analysed in SFL (Systemic Functional Linguistics) as an ‘objective interpersonal metaphor’ and a type of interpersonal theme (again, see the subsequent chapter defining extraposition and its functions), and it is therefore relevant to consider previous contrastive analyses of theme, particularly interpersonal theme, and modality contrasts between the languages. The basic transfer hypothesis of word order patterns may be stated as follows, for example: “The tendency seems to be towards an overuse of patterns that are acceptable both in English and in the closely related Scandinavian languages, but which are more frequent in Scandinavian” (Hasselgård 2009 123). For the

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. Boström Aronsson 2005 90 Fn 32: NB “... the frequencies of different types of modal expressions and evaluative comments may be influenced by the topics of the essays, as text type and topic are influential factors on the expression of modality (Fairclough 1995: Aijmer 2002:59f). This factor should, however, be delimited by the wide variety of topics in the essays studied...”.

<sup>13</sup> Here, Herriman implies that the lack of awareness of the norms of English argumentation applies only to the learner groups and not novices NSE writers.

present purposes, theme is defined as per SFL (e.g. Halliday 2004 175) as the initial part of the clause, up to and including the first experiential element (following Hasselgård 2009 122).

### 3.2.1 Theme in Norwegian v. English

Hasselgård's work (e.g. Hasselgård 1997, 2004, 2005) in the domain of Comparative Analysis regarding theme (in the Hallidayan sense) suggests potential overuse of extraposition by the Norwegian learners, with the possible cause being transfer of Norwegian word order patterns, namely the increased frequency of the impersonal pronoun 'det' (cf. *it*) in thematic position in Norwegian by comparison to English: "The following features are found more frequently in Norwegian than English: initial adverbials, formal subjects and clause-coordinating conjunctions. English favours agentive subjects as theme to a greater extent than Norwegian, and has a greater tolerance of indefinite noun phrases in subject position" (Hasselgård 2009 124). In the case of the anticipatory subject 'it' (cf. formal subject) of extraposition, a prediction of transfer could not be inferred in relation to Norwegian's increased frequency of "formal subjects" (nor English favouring "agentive subjects"), from the study's presentation of findings of comparative frequencies based on the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus (the 'ENPC', which contains Norwegian and English fiction originals and their translations), with "anticipatory subject" found with almost identical frequencies in the Norwegian language and English language fiction originals (2.8 and 2.7% respectively: cf. Table 1, Hasselgård 2009 125). Hasselgård (2009 124) considers an alternative explanation of genre and developmental differences in these results regarding anticipatory subject upon comparison with its much greater use in NICLE (reported as 4.9% of themes, *ibid*).<sup>14</sup> This would seem to weaken a transfer explanation for extraposition's increased use in NICLE, and reinforce the aforementioned genre and developmental (novice v. professional writers) as more likely explanations for any increased use of extraposition found in the present study of extraposition in NICLE. However, in an alternatively presented comparison of themes in the ENPC and NICLE data (regarding types of experiential theme) where anticipatory 'it' is included- together with existential 'there' under the category of 'empty theme', a transfer explanation may be still be feasible with regard to NICLE, as here there is an increased frequency of empty theme in the Norwegian material compared to the English originals (4.8% and 3.3% respectively), although this could possibly be owing to a

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<sup>14</sup> Hasselgård's examination of NICLE is based on a small, approximately 15000 word, sample of NICLE essays on the topic of 'crime' (Hasselgård 2009 122).

greater proportion of existential ‘there’ (cf. Hasselgård 2009 126, Table 4)<sup>15</sup>. This latter interpretation is given substance in light of Hasselgård’s concluding remarks on the NICLE learners’ increased “... frequency of empty themes (anticipatory subjects), which was also more like Norwegian than native English. However, the overuse concerned mostly extraposition...” (Hasselgård 2009 137), although the issue seems to remain unclear based on the results as presented.

### **3.2.2 Modality in Norwegian and English**

Aijmer (2002 67) explains the cause of overuse of modal auxiliaries in learner essays as register-interference, “possib(ly) ... reinforced by interlingual [transfer] factors” (Aijmer 2002 72): “In Swedish the modals [auxiliary verbs] are less central than in English as indicated by their lower frequency in contrastive studies of epistemic modality; they are used with adverbial support or are replaced by an adverbial synonym.”. Citing Palmer, Aijmer observes that while fewer adverbs in NSE can co-occur with modal auxiliaries, these modals get adverbial support in learner language (Aijmer 2002 63) giving the appearance of ‘modal clustering’ or overuse of modal verb and adverb combinations in the Swedish learners’ language.

### **3.3 Summary of CA and CIA predictive insights**

In general, the word order patterns (as per Hasselgård 2009, Shaw 2004<sup>16</sup>) constituting Scandinavian English are said to favour the L1 (Scandinavian) patterning where the structure is acceptable in both languages yet not so greatly employed in English as in the Scandinavian language. This pertains especially to the *it*-extraposition construction (‘IEP’) as regards the Norwegian preference for ‘lighter themes’ (for instance formal subjects have a greater tendency to occur in sentence-initial position in Scandinavian languages than in NSE), suggesting that the Norwegian learner group may overuse the IEP construction. This constitutes one of the hypotheses of this thesis (enumerated in the introduction of this thesis). Previous contrastive studies of modality (or stance, or interpersonal meanings) in

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<sup>15</sup> Both reports of results (in Tables 1 and 2, Hasselgård 2009 125, 126) of frequencies given related to the present subject of enquiry, anticipatory *it*, collapse ‘it’ and ‘there’ into a single category of empty theme/anticipatory subject, so it is impossible to distinguish their individual frequencies in the Norwegian and English language originals (cf. Empty theme category includes *it* and *there* -as above- at Hasselgård 2009 126; anticipatory subjects *it* and *there* at Hasselgård 2009 128).

<sup>16</sup> Shaw (2004) looks at Danish professional academic writers, comparing their original Danish with the same authors’ written English production, finding that they follow their L1 discursive patterns as regards word order in their interlanguage writing.

Scandinavian English, suggest that these learners are more likely to exhibit ‘modal clustering’. The Norwegian learners are expected to have greater difficulty mastering the discourse conventions as regards the use of IEP to express interpersonal meanings, than with the grammatical use of the structure. In fact, SKE learners have been found to display a marked overuse, at least as regards particular expressions, of subjective stance markers (e.g. *I think*, Aijmer 2002).

Together with the general hypothesis that learners will show greater difficulty in the mastery of the discourse conventions rather than their grammatical usage of the extraposition structure (i.e. the learner language may contain more inappropriate meanings to the genre of persuasive writing, rather than ungrammatical usages); the previous contrastive word order and modality findings, as well as the developmental observations and other contrastive interlanguage—predict the overuse of the IEP structure by the Norwegian learners in their written argumentative discourse.<sup>17</sup> Additional support for this expectation is suggested by previous developmental studies, where interlanguages (esp. SKE) have been found to carry over features from conversation or informal genres into the more formal written discourse text types. While the extraposition structure cannot be said to be a feature of NSE conversation, the use of modal meanings, and particularly expressions of subjective stance (SS), is. Thus, a finding of co-occurrence of the learners’ overuse of both the extraposition structure (as a way of expressing stance<sup>18</sup> - however impersonal) and overuse of other forms of explicit stance markers (i.e. subjective), would suggest that the structure’s overuse is developmentally - rather than transfer (or L1) – related. Conversely, should no such co-occurrence be represented in the Norwegian learners overuse of IEP, the possibility that such overuse is L1-dependent (i.e. transfer), presents itself with more éclat.

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<sup>17</sup> Although Johansson & Lysvåg (1987: 300) point out that the information principle (the tendency for a given-new ordering in English sentences), which in the case of the extraposition paradigm would favour the use of extraposition as opposed to NEP (non- extraposition), is a less stringent requirement in Norwegian information ordering than in English (1987II: 300), which might suggest a weaker tendency to extrapose in Norwegian than in English. However, this only concerns ‘paradigmatic’ explanation (i.e. the use of IEP *as opposed to* NEP); which, as discussed in chapter 4, is only part of the picture when considering learners’ ‘choice’ of IEP.

<sup>18</sup> If such overuse of the IEP is found, in this context it could be expected that the learners’ usage will show other markings of a less ‘objective’ use by comparison to NSE use of the structure, for instance the learners may reveal rather than conceal the source of modal responsibility in the extraposition co-text.

## **4 Defining extraposition**

This chapter opens by supplying the context of extraposition's emergent definition (section 4.1), examining its variable treatment in linguistic theory, so as to be in a position to provide the clear (and, hopefully, reasoned) definitional terms applied in the present analysis, in regard to its structure and function (see sections 4.2 and 4.3 respectively) commensurate with the methodological rigour demanded of corpus-based analyses. Departure from the prevailing concern with extraposition's textual function (as per the "paradigmatic" approach described below) in functionalist studies (comprehending corpus-based analyses), is motivated not only by some previous analyses of extraposition's functioning (cf. chapter 3, esp. the variables of genre and the developmental issue of personal involvement cf. Herriman 2006), but also by the treatment of extraposition as an interpersonal grammatical metaphor within Systemic Functional Grammar approaches (e.g. Halliday, Thompson) in justification of the present analysis' relegation of non-extraposition. While the current study situates itself, ultimately, within the theoretical context of Systemic Functional Grammar (see section 4.3 on SFG's treatment of extraposition), further discussion of the functional characterisation of extraposition entailed the adoption of a wider perspective of stance for the treatment (see also analysis chapters below) of the sub-types of extraposition and its comparison to subjective thematic commenting devices - called 'subjective stance' structures in the analysis.

### **4.1. Emergent Definition: Textual v Interpersonal function**

Consideration of IEP has emerged within the historical context of a structuralist and functionalist divide within linguistic theory. Kaltenböck describes (2004 2, chapter 2; 2005 120-1) the emergent and fuzzy nature of the structure's definition and functional consideration, evolving over the course of various linguistic treatments originating with Jespersen in the context of structuralism, passing through generative (transformational) treatments until the present day prevalence (arguably) of functionalist treatments of extraposition. A consequence of the diverging contexts of extraposition's definition is revealed by contrasting definitions – and corpus-based statistics in terms of use – of extraposition in previous studies (to be discussed further – as issues arise upon comparison with the relevant studies - in the analysis chapters following). This preparatory consideration of previous studies of extraposition is motivated by the incumbent methodological concerns in the interpretation of present study's quantitative findings (cf. analysis chapters below) as this comprehends comparisons of the functionality of the learner group's (in NICLE) use of

extraposition with various corpus-based (NSE and other NNSE) studies involving varying definitions of extraposition (both in terms of function and structure), as well as in relation to the considerations of a range of functional factors affecting learner language and argumentation (mentioned in the previous two chapters).

To contextualise the extent of the range of treatments at the outset: in the present consideration of statistics (see further analysis chapters 5 and 6) from the thirteen odd major and/or relevant functional corpus-based analyses of extraposition in L1 and L2 English (cf. Biber et al. 1999, Boström Aronsson 2005, Collins 1994, Gomez-Gonzalez 1997, Hasselgård 2009, Herriman 2000a & b, Herriman and Boström Aronsson 2009, Hewings and Hewings 2002, Kaltenböck 2004 & 2005, Quirk et al. 1985), variable definitions are adopted, sometimes by the same author (e.g. Herriman 2000a vs. 2000b) on a range of definitional issues, such as the inclusion or not of passive or intransitive types, relative clauses, and gerund types, etc., (see below, section 4.2.2, on the cline of structural subtypes of extraposition). Needless to say, while this makes comparison with NSE corpora and determination of the question of ‘overuse’ (chapter 5), somewhat fraught; concerns also arise due to the variable treatments of the structure’s functionality (possibly deriving from alternant structural definitions). The two issues (determinations of the structure and function of extraposition) are, naturally, interrelated<sup>19</sup> and the previous chapters’ mention of variation in functionality of extraposition according to what has here been termed ‘genre’ (including discussions of ‘register’ and ‘text category’ elsewhere) relating to the present study concerns of corpus comparability, has been formative for the present delineation focussing on the ‘interpersonal’ aspect of extraposition’s functioning.

#### **4.1.1 Textual function of Extraposition**

As is reflected by the title of one of the most comprehensive<sup>20</sup> corpus-based analyses of extraposition to date – Kaltenböck’s 2004 study ‘*It*-extraposition and non-extraposition in English’ – the general concern within (functionalist) treatments of extraposition has been

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<sup>19</sup> As per Halliday (1970a 273, cited in Kaltenböck 2004 2) “the structure of a language as a whole has been built in such a way that it reflects the demands that are made on language and the functions it is required to serve”.

<sup>20</sup> While both Kaltenböck and Herriman’s corpora are quantitatively comparable, one assumes the length of the relative analyses to signify. Kaltenböck’s 2004 book-length manuscript on the functionality seen within the extraposition paradigm is based on the million word ICE-GB corpus, comprehending 1701 instances of subject extraposition (2004 2-3); while Herriman’s 2000 research articles (on the semantic subtypes and functioning of extraposition) are based on the LOB Corpus, a one million corpus of written British English, recording 1633 and 2152 subject extrapositions (in the 2000b 584 and 2000a 206 studies, respectively).

formulated in terms the structure's use in relation to its "structural counterpart" within "the extraposition paradigm": non-extraposition ('NEP'):

"A central aspect in this investigation will be the question of *choice within the syntactic paradigm* of (non-)extraposition as this is what is assumed in most formal analyses, especially transformational accounts. It will be shown, however, that this choice only applies on a more abstract structural level. In actual use it is heavily constrained by a variety of functional factors." (Kaltenböck 2004 2) [my italics]

In this contemporary mainstream, "paradigmatic", perspective, the function of extraposition – which is the least marked of the pair in terms of frequency of occurrence – is by and large described in terms its textual function in relation to the function of non-extraposition: extraposition functions as a device where the extraposed structural variant of the paradigm – by contrast to the 'choice' of the non-extraposed ('NEP') counterpart – allows the 'heavy' clause with generally new information to be "postponed" to the end of the sentence, in conformity with the principles of weight and information in English (e.g. Biber et al. 1999 42; Johansson and Lysvåg 1987 325-6; etc.). At the same time, while extraposition's textual function (within the paradigm) of end-weight and information in English (i.e. considered in relation to the function of NEP) is sometimes subsumed under the heading of "thematic" principles (e.g. Johansson and Lysvåg 1997 325<sup>21</sup>, and Huddleston's (1984) "thematic system"- cited in Kaltenböck 2004 1), here extraposition's function in terms of theme will be considered in relation to the 'interpersonal' metafunction: extraposition as thematized comment (see below in section 4.3 on the function of extraposition). This delineation is eked out by Collins' consideration (quoted below). Despite the present study's retention of Kaltenböck's (ultimately) paradigmatic definition of the *structure* of extraposition (where extraposition is defined in relation to non-extraposition; Kaltenböck 2005 123, and see below in 4.2), any emphasis upon the textual function of extraposition derivative from earlier transformational perspectives is relinquished in the present study (except as concerns 'Theme'), and hence also the treatment of non-extraposition, in favour of consideration of the interpersonal, commenting, (thematizing) function of extraposition.

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<sup>21</sup> Cf. Johansson and Lysvåg (1987 300-1, 325) who compare the operation of these "word order principles" between English and Norwegian, stating in regard to the information principle of given-to-new, with which the principle of weight often coordinates, that; "... Norwegian leaves more scope for the information principle than English" (Johansson and Lysvåg 1987 300).



In going some way towards justification of the present study's focus upon extraposition's interpersonal function, Collins (1996 18) has pointed out the equal importance of extraposition's thematising function<sup>22</sup>: "It is reasonable to suggest that the pressure for extraposition to operate derives not simply from the desirability of positioning a typically heavy and informative clause late in the sentence *but also from the desirability of moving a typically light and less informative matrix predicate to the front of the sentence*" [my italics]. Similarly, Kaltenböck (2005 119 abstract) writes: "Contrary to the way *it*-extraposition is often treated in the literature, it does not represent a uniform functional category whose communicative purpose arises mainly from its status as the stylistically unmarked counterpart of non-extraposition". Nevertheless, Kaltenböck's analyses of extraposition (e.g. 2004, 2005) may be seen to lie within the purview of what has been presently termed the paradigmatic perspective, as is exemplified by the terms of his classificatory system of extraposition's communicative uses according to the information status of the extraposed complement, e.g. "[...] a very general semantic classification of the matrix predicate [...] is important mainly for the choice of the syntactic form of the extraposed clause" (2005: 121). Furthermore, Kaltenböck devotes the penultimate chapter of his book length study to a "... conspectus of the factors influencing the *choice* of non-extraposition" [my italics]. Within his 'New Complement' Extraposition type, which is the predominant type particularly in written texts, constituting 83.2% of cases (Kaltenböck 2005 129-130), however, Kaltenböck concedes that the communicative function of extraposition is largely determined by the character of the matrix clause (Kaltenböck 2005 143) as well as the overall function of extraposition in relation to use of the 'impersonal' *it* – i.e. the "impersonal construction" (2005 137). This characterisation is more on par with the following functional consideration. It is this aspect, then, the 'character of the matrix clause' in association with its incorporation of the impersonal pronoun *it*, which is the focus of the present analysis of extraposition's functioning (see further 4.3 below). This alternative classificatory system of extraposition enables focus on the communicative, interpersonal function of extraposition, and is found within the purview of some interpretations of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) where extraposition is termed an objective interpersonal metaphor and thematised comment

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<sup>22</sup> I.e. The notion of theme as adopted in the present study, in the Hallidayan sense (cf. Collins 1996 18; 23 ff. 7)– as the starting point, initial position in the clause. This approach to theme is somewhat distinct from for example Huddleston's 1984 "Thematic system" of extraposition (IEP) and non-extraposition 's (NEP) interrelation (cited in Kaltenböck 2004 1); and Kaltenböck's (2004 2) own terminology of "thematic structure" with respect to 'topic vs. comment', which notions are more entwined with textual functions per the Hallidayan sense, and which concern primarily the information status and weight in the relation between the matrix predicate and extraposed clause in the extraposition paradigm.

(although various interpretations compete within the SFG school of thought as to what constitutes the theme of extraposition, discussed below).

#### 4.1.2 Increased focus in interpretation of Interpersonal over Textual functions

While the use of IEP as opposed to the ‘alternative’<sup>23</sup> of NEP is not the focus of interest to the present study (except perhaps as evidence in weighing the question of the learners’ grammatical mastery of the IEP structure, and as a reference point for possibly disparate uses of the structure viewed contrastively<sup>24</sup>); and somewhat more attention will be paid here to the function of the “created”, matrix clause in thematic position and its predicates, as above, certain textual aspects of extraposition’s functionality are still preserved in the simultaneously textual and interpersonal functionality of IEP, as captured within the SFG approach, where IEP may be correlated with other ‘interpersonal metaphors’. Extraposition may be described as ‘thematized comment’ (cf. Thompson 2004 152) and upon such an interpretation within SFG, which assigns the whole matrix clause thematic status (rather than *it* alone as is Halliday’s own interpretation; cf. Herriman 2000a<sup>25</sup>), “... the attitudinal meaning in the matrix clauses becomes the perspective from which the content of the following extraposed clause is processed” (Herriman 2000a 212). As a type of theme (in the Hallidayan sense), then, extraposition retains this textual, “perspectivising” function, whereby the comment contained in the projecting clause frames or perspectivises the material to follow, contained in the rheme. This functionality is related to the broadly recognised, termed presently ‘prototypical’, function of extraposition as an impersonal, authoritative manner of presenting speaker/ writer stance, discussed further below in relation to anticipatory *it* (‘ANTIT’).

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<sup>23</sup> NB Some substructures of IEP are however described as ‘obligatory’ IEP as the non-extraposed version is unavailable, e.g. *seems* as the matrix predicate in for instance ‘It seems that you are too late’, does not have a non-extraposed variant (\*‘That you are late seems’).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Johansson and Lysvåg (1987 300) point out that “Norwegian leaves more scope for the information principle than English”, a tendency that would suggest – were the “paradigmatic” approach adopted- that, contrastively (NS vs. NNS), IEP may not be so frequently used by the learners where the subject clause is new.

<sup>25</sup> Herriman 2000a states “My analysis of the whole matrix predicate clause as the Theme of the clause complex is different from Halliday’s analysis (1994: 60f), which treats the pronoun *it* as Theme” (Herriman 2000a 227ff11). In her, albeit brief, discussion of the textual function of extraposition, Herriman also cites Collins’ interpretation of the whole matrix clause as having thematic status. In this, Collins (1994 23 ff.7) states that his interpretation is based on Halliday’s own approach; “The category of theme applies in the first instances to the (non-embedded) clause. In Halliday’s (1985) approach – which is adopted here – the concept of theme is applied to levels both above and below the clause. The primary justification for treating the superordinate clause [“matrix clause”] in the extraposed subject construction as the theme is its status as a grammatical metaphor expressing interpersonal meaning (see further Halliday 1985: 332-4, [...]).”

For the various reasons then, including those described in the previous chapter in regards to developmental, interlanguage and contrastive research, the learners' thematisation of modal meanings, is considered more crucial in the present analysis than the weight or information type of the extraposed clause - although these aspects of course interact with the matrix predicate (e.g. Kaltenböck, as above) and will be given due consideration. This emphasis promulgates consideration of the learners use of extraposition as operating within a system of subjective/ objective or impersonal/ personal types (and even formal / informal) of thematic choice, where subjective and objective interpersonal metaphors as theme are represented as poles in the "choice" of theme in the comparison of the use of extraposition between the learners in relation to NSE writers' argumentation. The feature of increased objective over subjective modality (or stance marking) of the NSE argumentative written genre observed generally and in the use of extraposition specifically (e.g. Herriman 2000b; Collins 1994; Biber et al. 1999 977), and observations of the specific style of use of subjective stance marking observed of professional NSE writers in this genre compared to both NSE and learner "novice" writers (cf. Chapter 3 on developmental factors, e.g. Hyland and Tse 2002, Herriman 2006); are assumed to inform the understanding of the learners choices in the present study, and this choice at one level may be seen to operate within a paradigm of subjective versus objective styles of thematic choice.

In regard to the general interrelation in extraposed structures between the matrix predicate and the extraposed clause- where "the complement clause conveys the propositional content, [and] the matrix clause typically expresses some speaker evaluation" (Kaltenböck 2005 138), previous studies have observed a general "division of labour" of semantic types in the matrix predicate of extraposition in relation to the extraposed clause types, with the major finite type (*that*-clauses) generally being more factive whilst the major non-finite group (*to*-clause infinitival extraposed clauses) typically express actions, it has been found that various semantic types of matrix predicates tend to occur with the various syntactic types of extraposed clauses; therefore, in keeping with these observations the structural subtypes of extraposed clauses are recorded in the present study, to be considered in relation to the semantic categories seen in the matrix predicates (e.g. Kaltenböck 2005 139, Collins 1994 18; also Herriman2000b and Boström Aronsson 2005 preserve the syntactic types of extraposed clauses in their considerations of semantic types of extrapositions). This division may in fact be seen as exemplifying another factor responsible for the fuzzy categorial status of the function of extraposition, for instance Hyland and Tse (2005), in discussing "evaluative *that*

constructions” as a relatively overlooked interpersonal feature signalling stance in academic texts, report “one of [their] main findings is that in our data *that*-complement clauses are always involved in evaluative patterns” (Hyland and Tse 2005 41). Hyland and Tse further observe the limitations of studying extraposition alone when considering the importance of their *that*- constructions as a resource for expressing stance, and refer to the coherence of the SFG approach in the notion of metaphors of modality as regards the choice of subject in the matrix, whether impersonal *it* or with an identified source for the evaluation (Hyland and Tse 2005 43). Whether this functional distinction between extraposed clause types will be borne out in the NICLE material will be observed in the analysis of semantic subtypes of extraposition. Observations from the LSWE corpus, however, may suggest otherwise, as extraposed *to*-clauses are more prevalent than *that*-clauses in argumentative writing genres (cf. Biber et al 1999 984), while extraposed *that*-clauses are “moderately common in news and academic prose (but rare in fiction and conversation) (Biber et al. 1999 674). It is these more functional considerations of extraposition that we will turn to, beginning with a consideration of the functioning of impersonal *it* in extraposition, after the following delimitation of the variation of structures comprehended by the extraposition class.

#### **4.2 Structures defined to be Exposition in the present study**

Kaltenböck’s (2004, 2005) definition of the structure is used here – essentially, extraposition is defined with respect to non-extraposition (NEP): the *it*-extraposition structure involves the movement of the subject clause to the right of the superordinate clause, the insertion of anticipatory *it* (‘ANTIT’) into the vacated subject position, and hence the creation of a separate matrix clause in initial position. This compares with Collins’ (1994 8) definition: “Extraposition is here understood to be the term which applies to a syntactic process which in English moves a syntactic unit, characteristically a subordinate nominal clause<sup>26</sup>, to the right of a predicate in the superordinate clause and replaces it with the dummy pronoun *it*”. The “basic defining criterion” (cf. Kaltenböck 2005 123) of extraposition (1) is the availability of a non-extraposed (NEP) variant as below in (2):

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<sup>26</sup> In continuation; “Extraposition of units other than nominal clauses is possible only under restrictive conditions, and not addressed in the present study”(Collins 1994 8); i.e. “certain NPs containing *the* and a relative clause as dependents may be extraposed (e.g. *It’s astonishing the dedication he shows; It appalled us the way he spoke to his wife*). These typically occur in clauses expressing emotional reactions of various types (cp. *?It was reported to us the way he spoke to his wife*). Semantically they resemble subordinate exclamative clauses (cp. *What a lot of dedication he shows*). Restrictive relative clauses and prepositional phrases may also be extraposed under certain conditions: see McCawley (1988: 96)” (Collins 1994 fn3 22)

(1) *It is important* to remember that the life of woman must have been very hard. <ICLE-NO-OS-0022.1> {P/}[created matrix clause italicized]

(2) To remember that the life of woman must have been very hard is important. [NEP]

For the purposes of the present study, various syntactic types of extraposition have been considered, following Kaltenböck (2004 29-31, 2005 123-127), as summarised in figure 5.2 below which immediately reveals the inclusion of borderline structures, for example (rightmost) the class of ‘other complements’; “...subsumes complements which do not constitute central members of the class of extraposition, mainly *if*-clauses and NPs postmodified by a relative clause” (Kaltenböck 2004 113; also Collins 2004 fn.3 22, as per note 8 below on the latter type).

Figure 5.2 Kaltenböck’s syntactic forms of matrix and extraposed clause types in extraposition

Matrix clause	Extraposed clause	{& non-clausal}
■ ANT <i>it</i> + AP	+ FIN <i>that</i> -	<i>PPs</i>
VP ( <i>seems/appears</i> )	<i>wh</i> -	<i>NP + rel.clause</i>
NP	- FIN <i>to</i>	
PP	<i>to/for</i>	
	<i>-ing</i>	
modal + BE	Ø*	(cf. Kaltenböck 2005)

\*Ø in Figure 5.1 represents the “omit” class of complements, discussed further below.

#### 4.2.1 Borderline and prototypical extraposition structures

As mentioned previously, concerns over corpus comparability arise in relation to contrasting structural considerations of extraposition found in previous studies referenced in the analysis. The following sections review the different approaches to the various components of the extraposition structure, and discuss how alternative structures will be handled.

##### 4.2.1.1 Matrix clause structures

Herriman's 2000 analyses of extraposition in the LOB corpus variously include passive matrix predicates (2000a 205-6), whereas her 2000b study considers active types only (2000b 583). Their exclusion in the Herriman 2000b study, followed by Boström Aronsson (2005 15), would seem significant as in the 2000a study passives account for a quarter of the total extrapositions found. As there would seem to be no particular theoretical grounds for their exclusion, the current study incorporates extrapositions with passive matrix predicates. Further motivation for their inclusion comes from their inclusion in analyses of impersonal structures typical of academic/ argumentative writing (e.g. agentless passive constructions such as "*it is commonly believed that...* or *it is frequently said that*" are analysed in Neff et al 2004 158). Passive types, in fact belong to the prototypical functional class of extrapositions in that they enable the expression of impersonal reporting (and mental / cognitive) structures (such as *it is claimed that...*, *it has been suggested that ...*, *it has been shown that ...*) (e.g. Kaltenböck 2005 138). Finally, the particular use of extraposed constructions with such verbs as *think*, *know*, and *suppose*, may also provide evidence of conversation register interference (cf. Biber et al 1999 984 report on the especially frequent incorporation of these verbs in expressing stance via extraposition in the NSE conversation register).

Citing Seppänen, Herriman (2000a 227 ff. 3; 2000b 583 ff. 5; and also followed by Boström Aronsson 2005 84, ff. 23) excludes the "obligatory extraposition" types, featuring matrix predicates such as *seems*, *follows*, *appears* which are irreversible or intransitive types in their lack of non-extraposed variants (although some intransitive types are included in Herriman 2000a, e.g. *matter*, *occur* ff6; *follows* in Herriman 2001 75 example (10)). More commonly, these types are included within the class of extraposition (e.g. Kaltenböck 2004 34, 2005 123-4; Biber et al. 1999; 670; Collins 1994 11), and are observed separately in the quantitative analysis following (in chapter 5) as required according to the necessity of drawing comparisons across the various corpora in the aforementioned analyses (cf. Chapters 2 and 3)<sup>27</sup>.

A more decidedly borderline case of matrix predicate types, is the inclusion of the modal + *be* forms by Kaltenböck (and Quirk *et al.* 1985 1392 note[a]), as opposed to Collins who treats such structures as *it*-clefts (Kaltenböck 2004 56). Again, as with the obligatory

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<sup>27</sup> Kaltenböck cites the grounds for the common inclusion of these irreversible types (including agentless passives) into the class of extraposition: "... the obvious structural analogy to prototypical extrapositions ... also many of these peripheral cases can easily be turned into extrapositions with a non-extraposed counterpart simply by increasing the weight of the matrix predicate (e.g. *it is pointed out by government officials / it is certainly true* )." (Kaltenböck 2004 28)

types, the use of this group of borderline structures by the NICLE learners will be observed separately to the main quantitative analysis of “overall” findings of extraposition in the various corpora.

#### **4.2.1.2 Extraposed clause structures**

Extrapositions with the following extraposed clause types are variously considered as borderline types. Firstly, truncated or omitted extraposed clauses (cf. ‘Ø’ in Fig 5.1) where the extraposed complement is omitted as it has just been mentioned or is understood, for instance, the essay topic question (cf. Kaltenböck’s 2005 133 “textually evoked” complements). In Kaltenböck’s (2004 & 2005) typology of ‘new’ and ‘given’ informational complement types of extraposition, the ‘omit’ class is a special subcategory of given extraposed clause types which are typical of conversation register (Kaltenböck 2005 135), “...in all cases the omitted complement is completely recoverable from the preceding context” (Kaltenböck 2005 134). These are not included as extrapositions in the present overall quantitative analysis, however their observation as textually evoked (cf. the task setting variable with regard to the prompted nature of the genre of the NICLE essays) and possible indication of register influence from conversation, merits their discussion in the analysis of borderline structures. More generally, instances of alternating structures found in NICLE- where the word order of extraposition is inverted, for instance (cf. the extraposed clause “omitted” or recoverable as mentioned in the previous sentence, for example) - are not classed as extrapositions in the current study, due to their borderline status in comparability with other studies (as far as I am aware, only Kaltenböck considers the “omit” types as in the class of extrapositions).

Some gerund type (-*ing* extraposed non-finite clauses) lend themselves to borderline status (as potential right dislocations). Together with other, borderline extraposed clause types of the forms *the* + relative clause, which are variously excluded (e.g. Herriman 2000a 227, 2000b 583 ff.3; Collins 1994 8 ff3) or included (Kaltenböck 2005 126) into the class of extraposition, and further borderline examples of special cases of *wh*-clauses (*if*-clauses and *when*-clauses), the borderline extraposed clause structural subtypes may be considered together, as situated on a cline of syntactic types of extraposed clauses ranging from clausal subject to less subject-like/ less- nominal components (the latter range of the scale leaning towards more borderline cases). Thus Kaltenböck, as does the present study, includes some cases of *when*-clauses, for example, as extrapositions where the clauses act as subjects rather

than adverbial types (cf. Kaltenböck 2005 125), and similarly includes more subjectival *if*-clauses types which can be replaced by *whether* as opposed to adverbial type *if*-clauses (ibid); and, again, with regard to the distinction between nominal and verbal types in ‘*the* + N... + relative clause’ and gerund extraposed clause types, as these types in particular are recognised as representing a cline where categorial distinction remains problematic (cf. Kaltenböck 2005 126, referring to Huddleston 1984 312-7 and Quirk et al. 1985 1290-2); consequently some discretion must be allowed in their inclusion or exclusion from the class of extrapositions in the present classification. Most of the borderline types mentioned presently, however, occur relatively infrequently and so the categorial distinction will not be so critical to the quantitative analysis. However, some cases are potentially more problematic than others- as for example will be observed in relation to the relatively high frequency of *if*-extraposed clauses in the NICLE material. As is reasoned above, where they are replaceable by ‘*whether*’, *if*-clauses have been included as extrapositions (as a type of *wh*-extraposed clause), although due to their borderline character and particular context of occurrence in the NICLE material, more particular attention will be paid to these borderline extraposed clause types than other such cases. Other borderline complementisers peculiar to the NICLE group and not addressed in the literature concerns extraposed *as*- and *like*- clauses (e.g. in *looks like* which rather than being contained in the extraposed clause as complementisers are referred to in the matrix predicates, cf. the *seems* / *appears* / etc. “obligatory” extraposition types classification above), which will be dealt with separately as representing borderline extrapositions (in order to be comparable to other relevant corpus analyses (e.g. Boström Aronsson’s analysis, for example excludes these types; 2005 84 ff. 23).

#### 4.2.1.3 ANTIT- scalar nature of anticipatory *it*

“One general characteristic of *it*-extraposition is that of being an impersonal construction. The impersonal nature of *it*-extraposition is usually pointed out in comparison with alternative constructions such as raising and the *tough*-construction (cf. *She is certain to leave* vs. *It is certain that she’ll leave*; e.g. Postal 1974; Riddle 1975: 471) and is attributable to the use of impersonal *it*, which has the function of attributing the comment expressed by the matrix clause to some undefined external source. As such, it is a way of avoiding the use of a personal pronoun (*I am certain that ...*) or sentence adverbial (*Certainly, ...*) thereby signalling reduced personal involvement. Thus, *it*-extraposition allows the speaker to express a personal comment towards some state of affairs, but present it as if it were some generally accepted view rather than his/her personal judgement. Biber et al. (1999 977) refer to this as



‘implicit attribution of stance to the speaker/ writer’. Depersonalising an evaluation in this way not only has the pragmatic effect of reducing speaker responsibility by deferring it to some external authority and therefore making it less contestable, but may also add a flavour of objectivity and authority to an utterance.” (Kaltenböck 2005 138).

As the introductory quote conveys, the impersonal and objective character of *it*-extraposition is particularly associated with the use of the impersonal *it*. Here again, however, we see a range of definitional issues regarding the treatment of anticipatory *it* in extraposition, represented in some borderline cases of extrapositions and further in various treatments relating to the definition of theme in extraposition (as mentioned above, in section 4.1.2). Finally, the issue of *it/there* conflation by the Norwegian learners requires mention (in section 4.5), as does potential learner difficulty with the selection of pronouns, *this* and *that*, in association with extraposition-like cases (cf. Montgomery’s *that*-extrapositions).

In the earliest treatment of extraposition, a broader range of structures was comprehended beyond the current definition requiring anticipatory *it* to the inclusion of “other third [3<sup>rd</sup>] person pronouns, as well as ... *this* and *that*” (Erdmann 1990 127; cited in Kaltenböck 2004 18) and, moreover, the pronoun “...can also point ahead [cataphoric] to nominal groups” (ibid).<sup>28</sup> This broader range of structures, however, retains the “framing” or “perspectivising” aspect of current functionalist approaches to extraposition in relation to theme (see below). The syntactic status of anticipatory *it* may best be seen as a gradient phenomena resulting from its range of referentiality (lying between ‘empty’ prop *it* and referring *it*; Kaltenböck 2003; Collins 1994 14), as was the case with the related status (related in terms of the co-referentiality between ‘it’ and the extraposed clause, as ANTIT “replaces” the clause) of the extraposed complements discussed above (i.e. as more or less subject-like, as extraposition is “generally seen as containing two subjects: the formal or anticipatory subject and the extraposed, postponed, logical or notional subject, i.e. the embedded clause”; Kaltenböck 2003 236), and as also pertains to the borderline status of some *-ing* and *when*- extraposed clause types (and furthermore sanctions Kaltenböck’s inclusion into his classification of extrapositions of the “omit” types discussed above).

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<sup>28</sup> Erdmann gives the following examples as illustration: *they’re fine fellows these journalists really*; *That’s proper good that old badger of yours* (cited in Kaltenböck 2004 18).

While Montgomery's (1989) *that*-extrapositions are decidedly outside the range of the general class of extrapositions, their somewhat frequent observation in the present NICLE corpus is potentially significant. Kaltenböck mentions these structures (with introductory *that* instead of anticipatory *it*) in his refutation of Seppänen's claims that the reference of ANTIT was identical with prop *it* (Kaltenböck 2004 40-41). Their present significance in the NICLE material is due to their conversational nature (being observed to a greater extent than *it*-extrapositions in this register; cf. Montgomery 1989); to be considered in terms of possible register interference evidenced by analogous structures in chapter 6.

#### **4.2.1.4 Other borderline cases**

The remaining cases of borderline extraposition structures relevant to the present study, concern variable definitions of theme in extraposition, and hence will be referred to below, in the summary of functional approaches to extraposition.

### **4.3 Functional Approaches: extraposition as interpersonal theme**

“The pressure for extraposition to operate derives not simply from the desirability of positioning a typically heavy and informative clause late in the sentence but also from the desirability of moving the typically light and less informative matrix predicate to the front of the sentence.” (Collins 1994 18)

As opposed to the paradigmatic approaches described earlier, with their focus on the textual functioning in the syntactic paradigm of extraposition (as regards the placement of the typically heavy and new information of the extraposed clause in relation to the non-extraposition structure), and where the focus is on the “choice” between extraposition and non-extraposition, the present concern is – again - with extraposition's interpersonal function: extraposition as thematised comment. The following discussion reiterates the previous mentions of the current definition of theme in extraposition. This is followed by a discussion of the “semantic subtypes” of extrapositions; that is, the semantic categorisation of the various syntactic types of matrix clauses. Another aspect of the kind of meaning expressed within the extraposition thematic system referred to, involves its situation on the impersonal, objective, (cf. “authoritative”) end of a dialectic regarding “involvement” in the expression of stance, as referred to previously in regard to the descriptions of the structure's incorporation of impersonal *it*. At the other end of this dimension of stance expression, lies the subjective (and further heteroglossic mentions of ‘other voices’) stance form, comparable to

extraposition in the currently adopted SFG model which describes these structures as interpersonal metaphors. These corollary structures of stance marking and ‘other voices’ when incorporated as theme (thus having commensurate status with subject extrapositions) may be considered to inform the present discussion of the question whether the learner group’s use of extraposition exhibits the normative, prototypical impersonal functioning of extraposition. As was discussed in the delineation of variables impacting interlanguage (chapter 3), insights garnered from previous learner studies suggest the NICLE learners may not only exhibit differential use of extraposition due to contrastive considerations (a preference for lighter themes and distinctive forms of the expression of modal meanings), but the learners may also exhibit developmental interference in a lack of understanding the norms of academic writing, of which the expression of stance is a particularly delicate procedure. Furthermore the evidence from previous interlanguage studies suggested a likely overuse of subject stance marking, which would naturally impinge upon any expression of objective stance in the use of extraposition. These analogous structures and issues regarding their functional comparability, are therefore described and defined in the subsequent sections, and also considered in particular relation to theme in further consideration of their referencing in previous studies involving the interpretation of multiple theme as opposed to, for example, object extraposition.

#### **4.3.1 Delimiting theme and extraposition**

As described earlier, theme is presently interpreted in the Hallidayan sense (e.g. Halliday 2004 79, 175;), as concerning the as the initial part of the clause, up to and including the first experiential element; and furthermore, within the present context of extraposition as “thematized comment”, the theme is taken to include the whole matrix clause of subject extrapositions (rather than *it* alone, as above). As a kind of interpersonal theme, this interpretation of extraposition involves the construction of meanings in the realm of the interpersonal metafunction of language use;

“... concerned with interaction between people, such as expressions of the speaker’s/ writer’s attitude and assessment of probabilities [...]. Interpersonal themes may ... be preposed clauses, such as *I believe...*, *I think...*, and *It is possible...*, *It is desirable...*, which carry out similar functions to modal adjuncts. These are described by Halliday (2004: 613-625) as metaphors of modality. The clauses with first person singular pronoun subjects attribute the attitude they express explicitly to the speaker/writer and are thus subjective interpersonal metaphors. The clauses with the subject pronoun *it*, on the other hand, do not

overtly identify the source of the attitude they express and are this objective interpersonal metaphors...”(Herriman and Boström Aronsson 2009 103).

These subjective and objective metaphors of modality are termed ‘explicit’ in the sense that they, rather than the congruent forms, are “a proposition in its own right...[and] represent the modality [the speaker’s angle either on the validity of the assertion or on the rights and wrongs of the proposal] as being the substantive proposition [...] Speakers being what we are, however, we like to give prominence to our own point of view; and the most effective way of doing this is to dress it up as if it was this that constituted the assertion (‘explicit’ *I think*) – with the further possibility of making it appear as if it was not our point of view at all (‘explicit objective’ *it’s likely that...*).” (Halliday 2004 624). Within this system, therefore, subject extrapositions and subjective stance markers when in thematic position (i.e. objective and subjective interpersonal metaphors), are operatives on the explicit axis, varying in terms of the value of “modality” as objective- where the source of the comment is withheld (objective *it*), or subjective where the source of the attitude is the subjective pronoun *I*.

The prototypical function of extraposition in this perspective, is then related to the available range of choices in the thematisation of the writers perspective, in terms of what may be called the subjective to objective scale, or a comparable scale of personal to impersonal expressions of stance (also comparable to Biber et al. 1999 terminology of the range of ‘explicit’ to ‘implicit’, cf. Neff et al 2004 144) in the projecting clause of extraposition (analogous in the present treatment with the matrix clause. With the ambiguity seen above relating to ANTIT’s of referential / experiential content, the treatment of what constitutes theme of extraposition constructions is subject to debate (theme up to including the first experiential element)- some theme is just *it* ; some theme is matrix predicate but the seam marking the end of the theme (or the matrix predicate ) and the beginning of rheme (or extraposed clause) lacks consistency between the different syntactic extraposed clause types.

The conceptualisation of extraposition as representing a unified category, even if somewhat fuzzy, is not by any means represented in the literature’s treatment. Apart from the variable treatments in more structuralist accounts, seen above (in section 4.2) with not only quite disparate definitions of syntactic types, functionalist approaches furthermore have not only deconstructed the category (e.g. Hyland and Tse’s evaluative *that*-clauses), but furthermore demonstrate a lack of coherence in its functional treatment, with some authors recognising textual and experiential functioning extraposition in spite of essentially defining their function as interpersonal, with various consequences. For example, Hewings and

Hewings discuss extraposition in the following terms “we consider one grammatical feature with a predominantly metadiscoursal role in academic writing: clauses in which the subject is placed at the end of the clause with *it* inserted in the normal subject position” (Hewings and Hewings 2002 368), and in this consideration of the ‘predominantly metadiscoursal’ function (cf. otherwise referred to by Hewings and Hewings as “rhetorical” function) of extraposition, they therefore exclude at the outset “predominantly ideational” (examples (5) and (6) below) and textual extrapositions - with a “text-organising purpose” (example (7) below) which they exemplify, as follows (Hewings and Hewings 2002 371-372):

(5) Though the examination of Tables 4 to 8, *it is possible* to discover the underlying driving forces that account for the differences between high- and low- performing exporters.

(6) *It emerged* from the various responses that the dominating sectors include the electronics industries, household products ...

(7) *It was pointed out in chapter one* that Kenya has a mixed economy in which the public and private sectors complement each other.

By contrast, the present approach considers the inclusion of such extrapositions as requisite for the purposes of presenting a cohesive definition of the subject of enquiry; and thus these types are representative of the functional diversity and fuzzy categorial nature of the functional category expressed by extraposition. This approach is commensurate with the analysis of extraposition as one mode (on the objective end of the ‘explicit’ axis, as above) of expressing stance, as representing a particular kind of authorial presence, and therefore as within the realm of interpersonal functionality, as defined above.<sup>29</sup> The present approach may be seen to be commensurate with that of Gómez-González (1997), whose consideration of extraposition (described as a type of ‘Special Theme’ construction<sup>30</sup>) describes two communicative functions of extraposition (which she terms objective and subjective):

“On the one hand, extrapositions serve the semantic role of ‘objectifying’ a modality, that is to say, they are used as a way of either averting the responsibility for an assertion or of claiming objective necessity or certainty for what in fact could be regarded a matter of opinion. And, on the other hand, they fulfil the communicative role of foregrounding the modal expression thematically, by placing it in a clause superordinate to, and preceding, that expressing the rhematic and newsworthy proposition.” (Gómez-González 1997 103-104).

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<sup>29</sup> For example, an alternative expression of the purportedly textual extraposition in (7) above, could have been instantiated with a subjective expression such as *We pointed out in chapter one...* and so, in the present analysis such examples represent a choice within the system of interpersonal thematic expressions of stance, in which extraposition prototypically represents the impersonal or objective styles choice of authorial voice.

<sup>30</sup> Along with right dislocations; Gómez-González 1997 97.

Gómez-González finds 15% of her subject extrapositions (drawn from the *Lancaster Spoken English Corpus*, Gómez-González 1997: 97) correspond to this ‘objective’ function of extraposition, and the remaining 85% function in the ‘subjective’ sense described above, as related to “thematising their angle, or point of view, along different values of typically modality ... [57%<sup>31</sup>] or less commonly of [...] modulation (23%), when expressing a requisite or asserting the desirability of an action...” (Gómez-González 1997: 102).

Crucially, then, the current context of the interpretation of the functionality of extraposition relies on the interpretation of the thematising function of extraposition, extraposition as thematised comment. Its prototypical functionality may be described, thus, as follows: “Extraposition thus serves the semantic role of ‘objectifying’ a modality, and the communicative role of foregrounding the modal expression thematically in a clause superordinate to, and preceding, that expressing the main proposition” (Collins 1994: 19-20). A somewhat differently posed framework given by Herriman (2000a), who discusses the function of extraposition in relation to the three metafunctions, may however be reduced into the current framing, where the Collins’ “semantic” aspects of extraposition might be seen to correspond to the experiential metafunction, and the “communicative role” as Collins describes in relation to the thematising positioning of this clause, as corresponding to the interpersonal metafunction. Consider with the creation of a matrix predicate, the comment contained in the matrix predicate is placed in thematic position, thereby influencing the way the following extraposed clause is understood (‘perspectivised’), which in Herriman’s discussion also allows for the options available within the system of Transitivity (cf. the “experiential function of extraposition”, Herriman 2000a: 207) and of Mood (cf. “interpersonal function of extraposition”, Herriman 2000a: 211).

Following previous applications of the operational definition of theme as regards these projecting clauses in subjective and objective stance marking, these interpersonal themes can be identified within the sentence level in the case of coordinated main clauses from the point after the conjunction (e.g. Hasselgård 2009: 125), and are recognised as occurring within multiple theme complexes (e.g. Boström Aronsson 2005). As such, a multiple theme complex may theoretically contain both kinds of modality metaphor, as for instance the following example shown in Boström Aronsson’s (2005: 65) analysis containing one such

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<sup>31</sup> The distribution within modality subtypes, generally expressing “assessing the likelihood or usuality of an event or when predicating the ease or difficulty of an action” is given as 32% ±possible, 24% ±probable, 44% ±certain (Gómez-González 1997: 102).

complex theme in the SWICLE corpus [the example is given with her annotation underlining each separate component of the theme]:

(4e) 5 thematic units:

but furthermore I am quite convinced that it is necessary for us and future generations  
to keep on dreaming. (ICLE-SW-UL-003). (Boström Aronsson 2005 65)

While Bostom Aronsson and Herriman's various analyses of extraposition (otherwise termed objective interpersonal metaphors; cf. Boström Aronsson 2005, Herriman 2000, Herriman and Boström Aronsson 2009) are generally closely observed in the present consideration of structures comprehended within the class of extraposition, some difficulty arises in integrating their approaches within the present oeuvre in relation to theme. This issue has been touched on earlier (in the discussion of their treatment of agentless passives and the "obligatory" extraposition types), and some discretionary treatment has been divested to the present analysis in these regards.<sup>32</sup> Further discretion is perhaps to be allocated presently, due perhaps to the different emphases between the frameworks (the present focus on extraposition vs. themes) leading to a perhaps reductive equivalence of what may be seen to define the endpoint of the interpersonal theme comprehended by extraposition, in the equation of the matrix predicate structural types (defined in 4.2) as constituting the boundary of the portion of interpersonal themes (cf. Boström Aronsson 2005 16-20, discussion of the difficulty on interpreting the boundary of theme in extrapositions<sup>33</sup>). Another concern in this regard is raised below, in relation to the discussion of 'other voices'.

#### 4.3.2 Functional subtypes within IEP

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<sup>32</sup> For instance, Boström Aronsson treats impersonal passives in the present tense as extrapositions, whereas in the present perfect tense they are treated as experiential themes. The relative examples are given as follows:  
"(19) It is said that the Olympic games would not only bring work to the unemployed but also tourists that would spend a lot of money [...]" (20) It has been said that "Money is Power" ... (Boström Aronsson 2005 71-72).

<sup>33</sup> Boström Aronsson seems to interpret the boundary between the matrix predicates (here, constituting theme) of clauses with that-clause extraposed complements and the non-finite classes of extraposition differentially (the *that* complementiser seems to be included within the theme component, whereas, for example extraposed clauses with *to*- complements are outside the theme boundary, in spite of her stated resolution to equate extrapositions in terms of delimiting theme, as follows: "I have decided to treat all objective interpersonal metaphors in the same way, as modal themes, even though this means that the theme may in certain cases not include an experiential element. Constructions in which the *it*-clause is followed by a *to*-infinitive clause are similar to constructions followed by a *that*-clause, e.g. *It is obvious (that...)*, which, in turn, can be seen as a metaphorical variant of *obviously, ...*" (Boström Aronsson 2005 20).

Collins refers to the semantic category within the matrix predicate of what is considered to be the prototypical case (in the syntactic class of adjectival matrix predicate as predicative complement which accounted for 70.5% of total extrapositions observed; Collins 1994 11) as “typically expressing an epistemic or moral judgment” (Collins 1994 22). This dominant semantic category of ‘judgement’ accounted for 43.6% of extrapositions with finite extraposed clause types and 24.4% of infinitival extraposed clauses (however, these figures include object extrapositions- which accounted for 8.3% of the total of 302 extraposition in the 200000 word corpus of various registers and text categories of Australian English represented in the Australian Corpus of English, ‘ACE’: Collins 1994 8,12). The ‘judgement’ category involves ‘emotional and rational’ types exemplified by predicates “*fascinating/ a pity/ true/ clear*” (Collins 1994 19). The remaining semantic categories contained were further elucidated as follows (with the proportions recorded for infinitival and finite extraposed clause types in parentheses following): ‘potentiality’: *possible / impossible*, etc. (4.7%, 6.4%); ‘deontic’ conditions (obligation, desirability, permission, etc.): *better / necessary/desirable*, etc. (28.3%, 5.7%); ‘ease/ difficulty’: *easy/ difficult/ hard* etc. (0%, 17%); ‘usuality’: *customary /usual/common*, etc. (0%, 3.9%).

Unfortunately, Collins’ account of the semantic subtypes of extraposition, which is the one of the very few given in previous accounts of extraposition<sup>34</sup>, involves a cross-referencing between the semantic categories as above, and as described in the present analysis which adheres to accounts given by Herriman and Boström Aronsson (in Boström Aronsson 2005 and Herriman 2000b) due to the comparability of their corpora (see Appendix for findings and further description of the semantic subtypes observed in NICLE, and further discussion also in the analysis chapters). This mismatch of semantic categories between Collins’ and the present, is exemplified within his “prototypical” judgement category, which corresponds to both the evaluative and epistemic categories here, as can be seen in Boström Aronsson’s relation of the four major semantic categories (which are cognate to Herriman 2000b; here described in relation to modal themes where given with modal adjunct examples):

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<sup>34</sup> Gómez-González (1997 102-103) also provides a breakdown of the semantic subtypes found in her small corpus analysis of spoken English (involving 105 extrapositions in the spoken corpus- LSEC), as follows:- Within the overall 15% of “objective” type extrapositions which were: “... avoiding an unqualified claim (e.g. *it seems that...*) or to ascribe to an unspecified source the responsibility for an assertion (e.g. *it is said that...*)”; and within her remaining 85% “subjective” types of extraposition findings related were within a) the “modality” category “... assessing the likelihood or usuality of an event or when predicting the ease or difficulty of an action, as in...”- 32% ‘±possible’ e.g. *difficult*, 24% ‘±probable’ e.g. *it may well be...*, 44% ‘±certain’ e.g. *it’s been taken for granted...*; and finally b) ‘modulation’ subjective types 23% “when imposing a requisite or asserting the desirability of an action, as in: ±desirable 92% e.g. *it’s a pity*; ±required 8%, e.g. *it was part of the Muslim law there...*”



- (i) epistemic modality : writer's view of the truth or likelihood of the utterance e.g. *obviously, possibly* (cf. e.g. Palmer 1990:5f and Huddleston 1984: 166f)
- (ii) deontic modality : writer's view of 'the moral acceptability, desirability or necessity of a state of affairs' (Nuyt 2001:25), such as expressions of allowance, permission, obligation, and volition e.g. *hopefully*
- (iii) evaluative judgements : that the writer has regarding the content of the utterance that follows, such as its appropriateness and significance - e.g. *naturally, importantly-* or emotive reactions- e.g. *sadly, amazingly, regrettably*.
- (iv) dynamic modality : "which is concerned with natural laws and the empirical circumstances which follow from them (Herriman 2000b, and Perkins 1983)"  
(Boström Aronsson 2005 12, 14-15)

The difficulty involved in rendering such a detailed semantic classification system in a corpus analysis, which perhaps explains why it is so infrequently undertaken, is suggested in the following appraisal of Herriman's 2000b (and followed by Boström Aronsson 2005 14) semantic categorisation system which is followed presently, as given by Kaltenböck (2004 25): "Herriman thus operates with an elaborate system of semantic categories and subcategories which provide a useful framework for the semantic classification of the matrix predicates. At the same time, however, semantic categories are, by their very nature, difficult to pin down and an increasing number of subcategories (such as for Evaluation) may render the task of classification potentially more difficult, therefore it is not surprising that 'a number of arbitrary decisions had to be made' (*op. cit.*: 584)". Thus, the discussion of the semantic subtypes (given in the following chapter 6) is based on somewhat arbitrary categorial decisions of the semantic subtypes of extraposition, and these categories furthermore lack extensive comparability across different analyses and so are at best tentative. The issue of the kind of use of extraposition by the NICLE learners, will be further informed by discussions of involvement and authorial voice, as will be presently addressed.

#### **4.3.3 Defining Corollary Structures (Subjective Stance and Other Voices)**

Due to centrality of the thematising aspect of extraposition's prototypical impersonal or objective function, this thesis (and generally all the previous corpus-based discussions on the function of extraposition), has concerned itself primarily with subject extrapositions. However, as we are beginning to understand, variable definitions of the function and structure of extraposition have led to a degree of uncertainty in the structures accepted as objective interpersonal metaphors, or extrapositions and thus the comparable (analogous in terms of expression of authorial voice in corresponding thematic projecting clauses), subjective expressions presently termed subjective stance structures (abbreviated on occasion as 'SS')-

which corresponds to subjective interpersonal metaphors in SFG terminology adopted by the relevant comparable materials presently considered (cf. especially Herriman and Boström Aronsson).

In Boström Aronsson's (2005) discussion of themes in the Swedish learner corpus and the comparable LOCNESS corpus of NSE (American) student argumentative writing, she reports including the following five forms of SS (subjective stance in thematic projecting modal clauses, "subjective interpersonal metaphors") observed in the learner and NSE corpora:

"I will restrict myself to five subjective interpersonal metaphors: *I think/ I believe/ I am sure/ I know/I feel* [...] because these frequently collated with *I* in the two corpora [...] only includ[ing] examples in the present tense, as it is sometimes unclear whether examples in the past tense are used as interpersonal metaphors or as reporting clauses" (Boström Aronsson 2005 83).<sup>35</sup>

However, while apparently only giving quantitative reports regarding these five forms (and their modified versions as presented above),<sup>36</sup> her qualitative discussions of these kinds of themes involve various categorial issues, and a broader range of forms, and furthermore her quantitative reports otherwise (than the directly reported frequencies of the five subjective interpersonal forms) discussing such interpersonal themes apparently *do* include a broader, undefined range of structures representing subjective interpersonal metaphors, for example, stating: "[...] subjective expressions such as *As I see it* in *As I see it, today's young people ... will not necessarily suffer from the prevailing state of high unemployment*. (ICLE-SW-UG-014) have been seen as interpersonal metaphors and the theme is thus counted as a multiple theme consisting of an interpersonal and an experiential theme" (Boström Aronsson 2005

<sup>35</sup> The five SS forms also include various modified and negated forms: "modal clauses modified in various ways... include[ing] negated clauses [...] emphatic *do*; adjuncts, e.g. *certainly, definitely*" (ibid).

<sup>36</sup> Results table 4.4.41:1 (Boström Aronsson 2005 84) on Subjective interpersonal metaphors in NNS and NS writing (f = tokens per 10,000 words)

	NNSs		NSs	
	n	f	n	f
Subjective interpersonal metaphors	317	18.15	130	7.43 ***

(Also a breakdown of frequencies of the five individual SS forms are given, cf. "Table 4.4.1:2 The subjective interpersonal metaphors *I think, I believe, I am sure, I know, and I feel* in NNS and NS writing (f = tokens per 10,000 words)" Boström Aronsson 2005 85.)

71fn.8). For the purposes of the present quantitative comparisons of subjective stance forms between the corpora, therefore, again a degree of discretion must be allowed; therefore my records for consideration of subjective stance markers for comparison with Boström Aronsson's work, will cover thematic forms which include the subjective pronoun *I* used with various mental, cognitive and reporting verbs understood to express writer stance. However, in the subsequent, more qualitatively oriented, discussions (in chapter 6) broader, categorial types may be distinguished.

In discussions of academic writing and the presentation of appropriate expressions of stance, a wider range of literature (i.e. not directly or necessarily reviewing exraposition forms, although generally mentioning subjective stance marking; e.g. Hyland and Tse 2005; Neff et al. 2004; Hyland 2004, 2002; Herriman 2006; Ädel 2008; etc.) which compares learner (or sometimes merely "novice"- i.e. NSE student) academic writing has been taken into consideration. The motivation for this consideration was seen in the literature review (in chapter 3) regarding the range of possible variables previously evidenced as influencing learners' use of objective / subjective stance marking, including structures such as exraposition, such as field/ topic/ discipline, & task setting (cf. task variables) and the general range of learner variables (e.g. culture, pedagogical background, L1 transfer, etc.). In the present application the consideration of such discussions, which span over a broad range of theoretical and linguistic contexts of consideration, have also emerged within the corpus-driven foundation of the present study. As has been variously mentioned, and was discussed above, the expression of subjective stance (or presently discussed in equivalence to subjective interpersonal metaphors) although possibly appearing somewhat peripheral at the outset in a discussion of learner use of objective stance marking in the prototypical functioning of exraposition, has been considered in as relevant in the discovery of the potentially differential (or mis-)use of objective stance marking- along the subjective- objective axis of the presentation (especially in thematic projecting clauses) of thematised comment. This objective-subjective modal distinction has been informed by the prototypical, impersonal, function of (normative NSE) use of exraposition in argumentation.

Presently, therefore, the corpus-driven context of study, and with consideration of the broader range of literature discussing developmental and interlanguage variables regarding the acquisition of norms of academic writing, have together supplied an impetus for the further inclusion of a linguistic feature presently termed 'other voices' ('OV') to be incorporated into consideration. Again, as with the subjective and objective thematic

comments, these structures concerning the inclusion of other voices will involve those in thematic position, and in quantitative considerations the clauses occur in multiple theme position together with extraposition. The qualitative context of discussion will be further elucidated at the relevant point in discussion, however at present it may be stated that these structures concern heteroglossic expressions of authorial comment (such as *everybody knows...*; *some people think...*, etc.).

#### 4.3.4 Multiple themes and Object extraposition

Some issues arose in distinguishing subject and object extraposition with respect to Theme in relation to the consideration of the inclusion of the various possible forms of these analogous structures of subjective interpersonal metaphors (here subjective stance) and ‘other voices’ when included in multiple theme together with extrapositions. In the present discussion, object extrapositions have been excluded from consideration due to their lack of thematic status. However some forms of these analogous structures may express borderline cases for consideration, when occurring as object extraposition. Some examples of such structures potentially analogous to the thematic subject stance expressions or ‘other voice’ types structures in thematic position and co-occurring with object extrapositions include, are seen in Collins’ 1994 corpus examples of object extraposition, and finally in the NICLE corpus also (object extrapositions and subject stance structural confluations underlined):

(7) (i) I find it very difficult to spend money on something I don’t actually need

(ii) Let me make it clear that Mr. Morris was the Minister at all times

(Collins 1994 12)

(47) It is true that television has a great impact on people, but I find it hard to believe it is the fundament in someone's life. <ICLE-NO-UO-0057.1> {P/}

(48) But although I feel that the teacher training should contain more methods and practise, I also think it important to know your subject well as a teacher. <ICLE-NO-HO-0018.1>

Such cases of object extraposition would seem semantically synonymous with examples of multiple theme co-occurrences of subject *it* extrapositions and subjective interpersonal metaphors which (the latter unlike object extrapositions) expressions are, in terms of

comparability of frequencies with previous studies, to be considered in the purview of the present quantitative analyses, such as Boström Aronsson's example (with thematic units separately underlined as reproduced also above in section 4.3.1):

(4e) 5 thematic units:

but furthermore I am quite convinced that it is necessary for us and future generations to keep on dreaming. (ICLE-SW-UL-003). (Boström Aronsson 2005 65)

Similar examples concerning object extrapositions co-occurring with 'other voices' to be considered further in the more qualitative discussion, but excluded from the quantitative discussion in chapter 5, include -for example- the following cases of object extraposition and "vacuous extraposition" which Herriman's 2000b study of subject extraposition excludes; "Other types of extraposition include object extraposition, e.g. *He found it strange that she was annoyed*, (Quirk et al 1985: 1393) and vacuous extraposition, e.g. *I take it that John will resign ...*" (Herriman 2000b 74 ff. 2). While these examples are, however, only of peripheral application at present (the first object extraposition example may be only vaguely analogous to my 'OV' types unless we consider such cases with a different pronouns such as *people find it...*; and the "vacuous" extraposition example – is more semantically analogous with SS cases, i.e. subjective stance expressions- and is more problematic as regards to Herriman's exclusion of intransitive "obligatory" extraposition types discussed earlier in 4.2), they are indicative of the extent of variability in the definitional terms- and the concurrent reservations these definitional obfuscations imply- required for the quantitative comparisons to follow.

#### 4.4 Extraposition in Norwegian

As the extraposition structure (IEP) is found in both the English and Norwegian languages (see examples below; cf. Johansson & Lysvåg 1993 325<sup>37</sup>), it is expected that while the learners may generally master its grammatical use<sup>38</sup>, its manipulation in the accomplishment of strategies appropriate to the production of persuasive written English is anticipated to be influenced by various factors including 'transfer of word order patterns' (cf. Hasselgård 2009), divergences in patterns of kinds of Theme between the two languages affecting the

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<sup>37</sup> For example, "It was claimed that he was a foreigner; Det ble påstått at han var utlending." (Johansson and Lysvåg 1987 341)

<sup>38</sup> With the general exception of confusion with existential *there* constructions, as the Norwegian form *det* is used in both constructions.

learners production. Generally, the “considerable differences” in word ordering that exist between the two languages at the level of the sentence and below (Johansson and Lysvåg 1987 298) may lead to “transfer” of Norwegian patterns into the learners English, especially as regards differences in the operation of the information principle. In respect of transfer at the word order level, therefore, in relation to the relative fluidity of the information principle in Norwegian over English (Norwegian “leaves more scope for the information principle than English”, Johansson and Lysvåg 1987 300), we might then expect the Norwegian learners to use extraposition less, and as the textual function of extraposition is supposedly motivated – in the paradigmatic view – by the tendency (which is stronger in English than Norwegian) to place new (typically heavy) information towards the end of a clause, while the Theme more usually contains Given (typically light) information (cf. Hasselgård’s research of word order, as reported in Johansson 2007, Chapter 12).

## 5 RESULTS

### 5.1 Overall use of extraposition in NICLE compared...

In the following section, the main findings in relation to overall quantitative use of extraposition are compared with reports of frequencies of extraposition's use in argumentative writing across the various learner and task variables raised for consideration in the previous chapters. Comparisons are shown in the frequency of use of extraposition (with results given per 10 000 words) between the NICLE learners' use as discovered in the primary corpus analysis. The variables involved at this stage of comparison include observations of relative use between the primary learner group of Norwegian language background (in the NICLE corpus), as compared with two kinds of NSE norms or target behaviours in the appropriate "argumentative" writing genre and further also spanning the developmental variable. That is, the analysis addresses concerns previously made (e.g. Ädel 2006 205- 208) as regards the comparability of corpora in relation to which NSE group –"novice" (in LOCNESS, etc.) or "professional" (in ICE-GB, and LOB academic and professional writing) represents the appropriate target behaviour in the use of extraposition. Ädel (2006 207-208) writes in regard to the selection of the appropriate material for her comparison of the SWICLE learner groups use of metadiscoursal features: "To sum up, if we were to investigate two different types of norms- one 'peer status' norm of university writing (such as the Locness) and one 'professional status' norm of professional writing (such as argumentative newspaper texts)- for comparison with the learner material, we would get an additional perspective...".

In some ways the present resolution to that question has been made simple in the availability of these two different perspectives on this question of whether the learner group has acquired the rhetorical norms of professional NSE argumentative (cf. academic) writing or whether the learner behaviour is better measured against their native speaker peers, and thus for instance resolving issues of relative status between student writers and professionals which have been previously shown to affect the construction of authorial voice. For example, Hyland (2006) upon examining the three kinds of writers' "authorial presence" in the argumentative genre observes that qualitatively the NSE and NNS writers tend to construct the same kind of authorial presence by comparison to her "professional" NSE writers of opinion pieces. While a more qualitative examination is to be undertaken in the subsequent section of this report, at present it may be observed that various issues remain regarding the

comparability of the corpora in this regard, notwithstanding the availability of these two kinds of target groups for observation. As described in the previous chapter, the fuzzy categorial nature of extraposition has possibly been the cause of variable definitions of the structure given in the various corpus discussions which represent the material for comparison. Another concern (discussed in Chapter 2), giving rise to a difficulty in the quantitative analysis has been in regard to the lack of comparability in the various quantitative reports of extraposition's use in regard to variables such as task setting, which again has been shown to critical concern in comparisons such as the present as Ädel 2008 reports. While the present study has attempted to redress some of these concerns in the collation of small samples, in order to avoid the definitional concerns as well as to control the corpus variables, these reports can obviously be considered less definitive given the sample sizes, and remaining concerns with a lack of rigor in the control of corpus variables in the available materials.

The final kind of comparison demanded by the 'ICM' methodological model adhered to, involves interlanguage comparisons. Here the NICLE learners use is compared to other interlanguage groups (again with control for the genre variable being possibly compromised given the variable task settings, etc.)- at present this involves reports from two other L1 background groups (Cantonese and French L1s, in the Chinese and French ICLE subcorpora- 'CHICLE' and 'FRICLE') which were thought to be sufficiently representative (although I also list the Swedish group as reported in Boström Aronsson, for further comparison) across language group and culture, to disambiguate the transfer from L1 question. That is, if these other interlanguage groups did not show the same trends in relation to NSE use of extraposition as the primary learner group, then the NICLE learners differential use may be more likely associated with transfer, as hypothesised by contrastive word order patterns in English as opposed to Norwegian. This hypothesis was further given support by the inclusion of a sample of Norwegian language novice argumentative writing, as follows.

Table 5.1, below, presents the overall quantitative findings of extraposition use in NICLE, to be compared (horizontal axis) with NSE (English native speaker) corpus findings and the Norwegian language sample (native speaker, Norwegian language, NSN) findings. Going down the table, averages of extraposition's use from corpora representing various different text types, or genres, are presented.

**Table 5.1 Overall Corpus frequencies (per 10000 words) and NICLE overuse**



<b>CORPORA→</b>	<b>Interlanguage</b>	<b>NSE</b>	<b>NSE</b>	<b>NSE</b>	<b>NSN</b>
	(i) NICLE (ii) FRICLE (iii) SWICLE (iv) CHICLE (v) Unspecified	ICE-GB  (cf. Kaltenböck 2004)	LOB  (cf. Herriman 2000a)	LOCNESS	Norske  Skole  forum
<b>GENRE↓</b>					
ARG TEXT	(i) 32.5	23.3 ACAD  (9.5 Hew)	31.9  ACAD	33.1?	56.5?
	(ii) 36.1?	28.5 EDIT	34.1 EDIT		
	(iii) 20.78 BOA			9.15 BOA	
	(iv) 19.0 ?				
Student theses- academic	(v) 17.7 Hew	20.5 W1A			
NON-ARG  spoken		14.6 (excludes scripted)			
CorpusAverage		17.01			

KEY H: Herriman; BOA: Boström Aronsson; Hass: Hasselgård ; Hew- Hewings and Hewings 2002

ACAD- academic; EDIT- Editorials ; ?- results based on small 20000 word samples

? Tentative results based on my collated corpora of ca.20000 words each

NSN - Norwegian language corpus- norskeskoleforum)

\*Herriman/BOA results based on varying extraposition definitions (excludes *seems/ appears*, passive)

Hasselgård 2009 results based on ENPC]

### 5.1.1 Compared to professional NSE persuasive writing

Leaving aside for the present, concerns over the sample sizes and other variable controls of the interlanguage groups for the present, the overall number of subject *it*-extrapositions (with non-borderline cases excluded for this count, as described in the previous chapter) in the NICLE material was 476 (in theme or multiple theme position, again, as previously described), giving an overall frequency (per 10000 words) of 32.5. This represents an overuse

upon comparison to Kaltenböck's (2004 74) findings in the NSE "argumentative" writing genres of academic writing (23.3) and editorials (28.5) in the NSE ICE-GB corpus. However, this finding of overuse in consideration of the generalised rhetorical function of extraposition- i.e. accounting for argumentative writing genre- is called into question upon consideration of Herriman's (2000a 226) findings from the LOB corpus in cognate genres- with academic writing (31.9) and editorials (34.1). Given Kaltenböck's more explicit definition of extraposition which has presently been attended to, and Herriman's inclusion of non-thematically placed extrapositions upon which their results are analysed (Herriman and Boström Aronsson 2009 109 fn 9), the finding of overuse in NICLE likely holds, and the NICLE writers may be said to overuse extraposition in relation to the norms of professional NSE argumentative writing.

### **5.1.2 Developmental (NICLE writers compared to NSE peers in LOCNESS / W1A)**

In the sample of NSE writers taken from the LOCNESS corpus, 67 non-borderline extrapositions were found, yielding a frequency of 33.1 extrapositions per 1000 words. The finding based on this small sample, suggests that both groups of novice writers in NICLE (32.5) and LOCNESS corpora overuse extraposition and lends support to an argument that the NICLE writers' overuse is possibly developmental. This interpretation might have been strengthened by a similar finding in the other interlanguage groups, below, of a group tendency of similar use of extraposition (which is however not the case). Notably, however, Boström Aronsson's (2005 88) finding of a frequency of 9.15 (based on a much larger sample of mostly American English) of extraposition in LOCNESS is considerably lower than the present study.<sup>39</sup> Even adjusting for the wider range of structures accounted for in the present definition of extraposition as compared to Boström Aronsson's definitions of extraposition (termed objective interpersonal metaphors<sup>40</sup>), this would seem to be a large discrepancy between the two accounts of the frequency of extraposition in LOCNESS. To supplement the current interpretation, I refer to Kaltenböck's account of the non-professional writing (W1A, consisting of timed and untimed student writing) in ICE-GB which, at 20.5 (Kaltenböck 2004 74), sits somewhere between the two accounts from LOCNESS reporting on "novice" NSE argumentative writing. It would therefore appear, in relation to this final report based on the

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<sup>39</sup> The figure from LOCNESS reported elsewhere was even lower, at 7.4 (Herriman and Boström Aronsson 2009 108).

<sup>40</sup> Crucially, Boström Aronsson's (2005) reports on objective interpersonal metaphors excludes passive extraposition constructions (cf. Boström Aronsson 2005 90 fn 28), which could account for as much as one quarter of total extrapositions if Herriman's 2000a figures in the LOB corpus are considered.

ICE-GB student writing component in Kaltenböck's 2004 result, that the NICLE writers may in fact demonstrate an overuse of extraposition relative to their NSE peers. Such an interpretation, however, would seem to unjustifiably weaken the more developmental interpretation suggested at the outset (in the similar frequencies observed of NICLE and LOCNESS); furthermore given the closer degree of comparability between the two data sets: the LOCNESS -ICLE texts matching in relation to task variables, for example length of samples, as do the ICE-GB samples in terms of length; and that Kaltenböck's 2004 results of the relatively lower use of extrapositions between novices as compared to professional NSE, it would seem that a developmental factor is not out of the question in terms of differential use of extraposition (with the NSE writers possibly underusing the structure in relation to the argumentative writing text types of editorials and academic writing). This would imply however, a different regime of developmental factors applied to the NICLE learner group. It is to be further noted, however, that it is likely the W1A essays (half untimed half exam samples of 2000 words each totally 20000) of the ICE-GB are possibly more expository rather than argumentative in genre, containing literary criticism and history essays, for example. Returning, then, to Boström Aronsson's and Herriman's findings of learner overuse in the relative use between SWICLE and LOCNESS peer groups, as these results are based on matching definitional criteria, it would seem, again, that the Scandinavian language groups likely exhibit overuse of extraposition relative to their NSE peers. A degree of reservation persists, for example as expressed by Boström Aronsson regarding the comparability of LOCNESS to SWICLE in relation to genre, repeated here (cf. section 2.2.3 fn. above):

“Although both the NNS [non-native speaker, i.e. SWICLE] corpus and the NS [native speakers (of English) i.e. LOCNESS] corpus consist of argumentative essays, it should be noted that there may be differences between the two samples as a result of differences in the assignments given to the students. The topics of the NS essays are often of a type that encourages the writers to take a personal stand on a moral issue, whereas this is not the case in many of the topics available to the Swedish NNSs. Moreover, the NSs sometimes base their arguments on secondary sources included in the assignment given to the students, whereas no such sources and assignments have been available to the Swedish NNSs. Differences in the assignments and topics may give rise to various types of differences between the NNS and NS texts (Ädel 2003:219). Although topic is a factor that may have an influence on differences between NNS and NS texts, the wide variety of topics represented in both the NNS corpus and the NS corpus should delimit the risk that differences found are sure to differences in the topics dealt with.” (Boström Aronsson 2005 57-58)

### **5.1.3 Other interlanguage groups use of extraposition compared with NICLE**

In the two samples obtained from the French and Chinese L1 groups of ICLE subcorpora, overall frequencies observed of extraposition were 38.9 and 19.0 respectively. These results may also be compared with Boström Aronsson's (2005: 89) findings regarding the SWICLE corpus, of 20.78. At this point, I reiterate that Boström Aronsson's (2005) definition of objective interpersonal metaphors excludes certain structures that the present definition of extraposition comprehends (see Chapter 4, excluding passive structures – which Herriman 2000a finds accounts for a quarter of her results in the LOB corpus). Hewings and Hewings' (2002) results of frequencies of the use of extraposition by novice learner writers (unspecified L1 backgrounds) compared to published, academic writers may be mentioned presently. The reported frequencies were strongly suggestive of “overuse” by the unpublished writers relative to the published writers; 17.7 : 9.5 respectively (Hewings and Hewings 2002: 374). However, the L1 background of these writers is unknown. Again, while Hewings and Hewings excluded some types of extraposition included in the present study (and further do not extensively define the structure which has been shown to be widely differ in definitional terms), this may indicate that compared to the other interlanguage groups, the NICLE writers- and generally different interlanguage groups do- behave substantially differently, perhaps overusing extraposition in relation to their Asian peers, and showing relatively similar (over-)use to their Scandinavian peers (taking into consideration definitional differences between Boström Aronsson's report from SWICLE with regard to passive extrapositions), and not as substantial overuse as their French L1 peers. There would appear to be a considerable degree of difference in the behaviour between the Chinese and Norwegian interlanguage groups- a difference which is pursued further in the qualitative analysis.

### **5.1.4 Extraposition in novice Norwegian language argumentative writing**

Finally, the overall frequency of extraposition in NICLE may be compared to the *norsekskoleforum* sample, where a result of 56.9 extrapositions per 10 000 words was observed- by far the highest of any group observed thus far. Unless the qualitative analysis or consideration of previous findings suggests otherwise, this finding (although tentative as based on such a small sample of approximately 20 000 words) lends support to the transfer hypothesis that Norwegian writers are transferring word order patterns from Norwegian into their written English as based on contrastive findings (as reported, for example, in Hasselgård 2009) that Norwegian prefers lighter themes and formal subjects in contrast to English word

order patterns. One variable that could substantively impact upon the findings here, however, is the age variable- with the Norwegian language writers being substantially younger than the NICLE writers.

### **5.1.5 Discussion of overall frequency of extraposition in NICLE compared**

It appears that the NICLE writers overuse the extraposition structure in comparison to NSE norms of argumentative writing seen in the “professional” writing genres in academic writing and editorials in the ICE-GB corpus. Upon comparison with NSE novice writers in LOCNESS, it is possible that the NSE writers use the construction less than NICLE writers (in spite of the present LOCNESS sample findings of similar quantitative use between these two groups), although impossible to say with any certainty given the conflicting reports and definitional issues here. However, findings by Boström Aronsson and Herriman in this regard suggest Scandinavian writers’ overuse of extraposition relative to their NSE peers, while it may be suggested from the current study that Chinese L1 writers underuse the structure. As substantially variable trends appear to occur between the various interlanguage groups- with French and Scandinavian groups (NICLE and SWICLE) compared to the Chinese group, it is possible that there is some evidence of the influence of transfer of cultural patterns of rhetoric. In that instance, it will be especially necessary to supplement the analysis with a qualitative report. Recalling the differing structural definitions of extraposition which the alternate and present reports of LOCNESS are based on, as well as the discrepancy in terms of comparability of the non-professional writing in ICE-GB, the developmental hypothesis that novice writers as a group use objective expressions of stance (extraposition) similarly (e.g. less) could not be sustained without further considerations of cultural and other variables necessarily impinging on such a finding. Turning back to the other interlanguage writers, it would appear in this context to be significant that overuse of extraposition is not shared by all learner groups- with the Chinese ICLE writers showing noticeably fewer extrapositions than the French L1 and Norwegian L1 groups. This may be suggestive of transfer of various aspects of L1 culture and language background. This interpretation is given further weight in the final analysis of the Norwegian language sample, showing novice argumentative writing with an extremely high frequency of extraposition, in that this evidence may – with qualification regarding the age variable- go some way to lending support to the transfer hypothesis.

In summary the overall quantitative findings with regard to the use of extraposition suggest an overuse of the structure in relation to NSE norms of professional academic writing. This overuse is shared variably by some other learner groups but not by others, nor (although this facet is tentatively stated) by the NSE novice writers, therefore a opening the door to explanations behind the Norwegian learners' overuse in relation to cultural transfer and supporting a transfer analysis, and weakening a developmental explanation. The transfer hypothesis was strongly suggested by a finding of substantially greater use in Norwegian language argumentative writing. Qualifications on all these findings remain due to issues of corpus comparability, however. It is hoped that the following qualitative analysis may go some way to further disambiguating the influences affecting the NICLE groups use of extraposition. Previous findings regarding register influence have strongly suggested that a less objective use than the prototypically impersonal functioning of extraposition will be evidenced in the Norwegian learners use of extraposition. This will be considered below in relation to the findings of subjective stance marking co-occurring with extrapositions. In the consideration of possible transfer of cultural rhetorical patterns, the semantic subtypes of extraposition will be compared with the Swedish learners use, as observed by Boström Aronsson (2005)- it is assumed that the two Scandinavian groups will exhibit a similar patterning which may be seen to reinforce the notion of cultural transfer. Further comparison between the Chinese L1 sample will be undertaken to further investigate the possible kinds of cultural difference in rhetorical uses of extraposition.

## 5.2 Extraposition structural types in NICLE

### 5.2.1 Non-borderline extrapositions

Extrapolated clause type→  Matrix Predicate types ↓	FINITE  <i>that-</i>  (T 154)	FINITE  <i>wh-</i>  (T 30)	INFIN  <i>to-</i>  (T 245)	INFIN  <i>for/to</i>  (T 32)	NON- FIN  <i>-ing</i>  (t 7)	NON CLAUSAL  (T8)	OMIT
Adj.P (T 313)	67	13	194	1	5		
VP (T 81)	47	9	9	-	2		

Seems/appears, etc.							
NP (T 73)	37	20	20	3	-		
PP (T7)	2	-	4	1	-		
Mod + be							

Raw figures for the distribution of syntactic types of extraposition

### 5.3 Structural cline of ANTIT

#### 5.3.1 It/ there confluents and learner errors recorded in extraposition

Some examples of extrapositions (and it/there conflation in existential *there* constructions) was observed, for example:

(39) If prisoning is damaging the prisoners mentally, and makes it difficult for them to return to society again, **it** is only one thing to say. Too bad, they should have thought of that before (...) <ICLE-NO-OS-0037.1>

(41) My conclusion on this topic is that **there** should be mandatory for the students to get some practical experience out in the real world before finishing their degree at the university. <ICLE-NO-AC-0007.1> {P/}

(42) **It's** no doubt that the Minister of Defence and the defence staff have a difficult task in front of them. <ICLE-NO-BU-0001.1> {P}

There are not many people who will hire a person, which has done something bad like steeling. It is always a risk that it can happen again. If you cannot get a job I would say that you have thrown your life away. If you do not have a job it is hard to survive in the world, and it is so much easy to get back to the criminal ways again. <ICLE-NO-AC-0023.1> {p/}

However it is broad political consensus that the ordinary military service should be kept, but shorten in to 6 months. <ICLE-NO-BU-0001.1> {P/}

Since this system is based on people choosing if they want to become soldiers or not it is a risk that the army will end up not having enough soldiers. <ICLE-NO-UO-0091.1>

#### 5.3.2. (This/ )that conflation pronoun confluents- Montgomery's that- extrapositions

Some uncertain use by the learner group was also evidenced in the questionable use of demonstrative pronouns, for example:

They point to "høgskolen" and "yrkesskolen" to understate their argument. They, "høgskolen" and "yrkesskolen", represent two institutions which focus their education on concrete jobs. Is this the direction universities should go? Maybe it is the only solution to make students be prepared for the real world. But I'm afraid it is not that simple. <ICLE-NO-BE-0003.1>{/p}

Besides this achievements, the woman has gained understandness and respect from men, as this is what the women's fight concerns about-the liberation from men's suppression.<ICLE-NO-AG-0013.1> {/P/}

## 5.4 Stance and Extraposition

### 5.4.1 Subjective stance and Extraposition "modal clustering" / sourced extrapositions

While the prototypical rhetorical function of extraposition is generally agreed to be its impersonal objective nature, the previous records of increased subjective themes and conversational register-interference in Scandinavian learner writing, suggest that the NICLE writers may be "misusing" extraposition in the sense that the structure is not being used to conceal the source of a comment, or "for concealing the fact that they are expressing their opinions" (Cf. Collins 1994 20). Some evidence supporting this interpretation is found in the quantitative findings: 67 of the 476 extrapositions (approximately 1 in 7) recorded are cases of multiple theme containing at least one subjective and one objective interpersonal metaphor. Examples include:

For teachers I feel that it is important to have some general knowledge about most of the subjects that are being taught in school. <ICLE-NO-HO-0002.1>

It is hard to state what needs to be done with the situation, but I know for a fact that if something is not done it will become harder to recruit people to the practical college degrees in the future.<ICLE-NO-HO-0013.1> {/P/}

But it is still possible, in my opinion, to live without the television. <ICLE-NO-AG-0003.1>

I do not think it is much of an exaggeration to say that forty to fifty percent of the males able to serve do not.<ICLE-NO-HO-0038.1> {/P}



Collins observes in relation to the general tendency in NSE “objective” use of extraposition, that; “An interesting aspect of the metaphorical expressions used is their tendency to cluster at the ‘high’ point of such modality value scales as ‘possible – probable – certain’ and ‘permissible – desirable –required’. This suggests a tendency for such expressions to be used as ways of claiming objective necessity or certainty for what in fact may be merely a matter of opinion” (ibid). In the present cases of co-occurring subjective stance with extraposition, the concomitant expression of such high modality values seen in the NICLE writing (see further discussion of the semantic subcategories), such as ‘important’ and ‘obvious’, ‘clear’, etc. produces a rather strange rhetorical effect, the frequent pairing of these two modalities- subjective and objective (further seen in non-thematic positions also) together with high modality values seems to produce a sort of “shouting” effect akin to an overstatement of ‘this is my opinion’, or at least certainly stripping the comment of any objective appearance. In any case, many of these uses appear very ‘personal’, particularly when in combination with other features displaying a ‘conversational’ tone, such as the following examples with ‘ands’ and ‘buts’ (frequently sentence-initial) and frequent use of personal pronouns, and the subjective tone further lending itself to subsequent extrapositions:

I wish I could say that it is needless to have a system of military service, but if one takes a look at the situation in the world today, it is not difficult to see that the pointlessness of an active military system is a mere illusion. <ICLE-NO-UO-0014.1> {===} {p/}

I feel that no person should be forced to aim a gun at another person, just because your nation says you have to be part of a military service. And I think it is wrong that a government can force anybody to spend time defending or fighting for something they might not believe in. {/p/} I believe that if an army consists of entirely professional soldiers we will have a much better defense. <ICLE-NO-UO-0033.1> {/P/, P/} {===}

I n my opinion I think it is very sad , and that it does not gain the cause of women, that feminists may ,to many people seem to have done more harm than good. But I do feel that this is related to the troubles that the consciousness of liberating women issues represent in a maledominated society,to such a large extent still dominated by male thinking. {/P/} I think it is important to establish that men and women might be different , but that women's way of thinking, their experience , should be regarded with more respect than is the case today.And to bring out alternative thinking , and to

bring out consciousness and knowledge about women's situation, I think we need feminists. <ICLE-NO-UO-0016.2> {/P//P/}

In fact, many “personal” extrapositions were found in NICLE, suggesting different function of the structure for the learners’, with approximately one third of all extrapositions reveal a ‘source’ of some kind (whether subjective or referenced to other persons, as in the following section).

#### 5.4.2 Other voices and extraposition

Again, comparing the NICLE writers use of it’s prototypical function to conceal the ‘source’ of the opinion, aside from the large proportion of multiple subjective and objective themes observed, many extrapositions co-occurred with expressions of ‘other voices’, for example:

They feel it is in the best interest of society to punish its criminals by putting them away for a period of time. <ICLE-NO-UO-0026.2>

Some people mean its a waste of money to help the criminals with teraphy, while other people mean that a criminal should be treated equal with any other person.  
<ICLE-NO-UO-0035.2>

Often these rather frequent mentions of ‘other voices’ (around 40 co-occur with extraposition in thematic position, as in the above examples)– although intimating a heteroglossic awareness of the rhetorical conventions of argumentation to consider these ‘other voices’ when construing an argument- appear with an informal, conversational tone, with emotive verbs such as ‘feel’, whereas in the second example we see transfer from the Norwegian *mener* which would probably also- and as above with the subjective stance markers- be typical of the conversation register. A further example of the interactive and informal nature of these types of structures as observed in NICLE, involves ‘other voices’ with the first person plural pronoun used to engage the reader:

*If we look at the historical background for the feminist movement, it is difficult to take a statement as "Feminists have done more harm to the cause of women than good" seriously.* It is important to remember that the life of woman must have been very hard. <ICLE-NO-OS-0022.1> {P/}

What most people associate with feminism, is what happened in the 1970th. If we look at this specific period, it may be possible to understand why somebody can say

that feminists have done more harm to the cause of women than good. It is due to the fact that many feminists were extreme. <ICLE-NO-OS-0022.1> {--} {p/}

### 5.5 Borderline extrapositions (excluded from overall frequency)

The following examples provide some representation of the types not considered in the overall quantitative frequency, with irregular extraposed clause types combined with “obligatory” *seems/appears* type matrix predicates (as previously explained, these were excluded in order to facilitate comparison with Herriman and Boström Aronsson’s figures, although they are more frequently accepted into the class of extraposition elsewhere, as argues in Chapter 4). These types again represent, beyond exemplifying the general difficulty in corpus-driven approaches which compare structures which are not exhaustively defined (or even definable) –a difficulty perhaps exacerbated in learner language corpora which may be more likely to not represented in theoretical descriptions,- frequently informal, conversation-like vocabulary, certainly not typical of impersonal NSE academic writing norms.

like complement clause seems /looks

Unfortunately, it doesn’t *seem like* reforming the prison system is a priority to our politicians and governments.<ICLE-NO-UO-0041.2> {/P}

*It seemed like* the administration and the politicians took more care of us than the students at Dragvoll. <ICLE-NO-AC-0007.1>

Even in an important subject as Education *it seems like* the course holders are out of touch with reality. <ICLE-NO-HO-0004.1> {P/}

*To me it seemed like* some of the teachers had never been teaching school children, and I felt the training was poorly organised. <ICLE-NO-HO-0018.1>

*It looks like* it can be hard to separate between what is reality, and what is TV-entertainment. <ICLE-NO-HO-0037.1> {/P}

Unfortunately, *it doesn’t seem like* reforming the prison system is a priority to our politicians and governments.<ICLE-NO-UO-0041.2> {/P}

#### 5.5.1 Truncated “omit” class and general cases of alternative word ordering

Kaltenböck's 'given' type of extrapositions (informationally given extraposed clauses) representing approximately 15% of extrapositions in the written categories of the ICE-GB corpus (Kaltenböck 2005 130) are more representative of NSE conversation register: "This discrepancy between the two modes can be attributed, on the one hand, to higher redundancy of spoken texts in general, and, on the other, to the specific discourse function exhibited by Given Complement Extraposition..." (ibid). Given the present discussion of potential conversation register interference represented in the NICLE material, and further substantiated in the corpus-driven approach (where a preponderance of these borderline extrapositions was observed- to be discussed), this class of 'omit' types, while not generally discussed as extrapositions- or at least as prototypical members of the class, are seen to warrant some discussion. Kaltenböck describes the general function of these types "... the overall effect of low information status together with syntactic downgrading and topic function is one of complete pragmatic backgrounding of the complement clause [...] this type of extraposition is 'perspectivised' not towards the state-of-affairs presented by the complement clause, but its predication, the quality ascribed to it in the matrix predicate." (Kaltenböck 2005 139). Thus, these non-prototypical functional types of extrapositions, which are increasingly found in the spoken mode, involve a foregrounding of what has been analysed as the thematic comment in the present analysis. This kind of use, then, would seem to represent a less "impersonal" type of function in extraposition, as the emphasis is on the comment in the theme, the modal meaning, to the point where the extraposed clause may be omitted.

While Kaltenböck explains the functioning of these types in relation to the spoken register: "Given Complement Extraposition represents a personal reaction of the speaker to a preceding linguistic or nonlinguistic event..." (Kaltenböck 2005 140), remarking on its "highly interactional character" (141), etc.; these types may be very analogous to the situational context of the special genre represented in NICLE of the prompted student argumentative essays in that the given "topic" (cf. the proposition contained in an extraposed clause) is often repeated by the learner writers, as prompted, and the students are given the task to "comment" on the broadly, common knowledge based topics (such as might be prominent in general conversation, or on television), and thus invited to give their opinion. As we have observed, the Scandinavian writers (and the French writers) seem very forthcoming with both subjective and objective comments. In the following examples we see further, that this overuse of commenting devices may be linked to the nature of the task, and

furthermore producing an effect of a conversational tone, with the use of these ‘omit’ class types of given extrapositions (topics italicized, extrapositions/ matrix clauses underlined):

Is that a sign *that it in some cases actually does pay*? Well, it's hard to say. <ICLE-NO-OS-0038.1>

Furthermore, if such ‘omit’ types are, following Kaltenböck’s analyses, to be incorporated into the general class of extrapositions, the reported frequency of NICLE extrapositions would be underreported. Some ‘omit’ class types not represented in the overall frequency (with the omitted extraposed clause always contained in the previous co-text) are given below, and may often be seen to represent a more conversational tone in that the emphasis is on the speaker comment (italicized ‘omitted’ extraposed clause, underlined matrix predicate):

*To prevent people from becoming criminals* is of course of great importance.  
However, it is not the most important. <ICLE-NO-UO-0041.2>

One year we were even invited to perform in Stavanger. It was so exciting. <ICLE-NO-UO-0013.2>

Not that they didn’t care about their work and family, and having a good time a hundred years ago. It was probably as important as today. <ICLE-NO-UO-0054.1>

(29) And with feminism ;I mean sex. To me, theese two spheres are so joined at the hip (no pun intended) that trying *to separate them* is not only pointless , its impossible . And believe you me, I’ve tried. <ICLE-NO-UO-0064.1> {/P}

## 6 QUALITITATIVE ANALYSIS

### 6.1 Evidence of register interference in NICLE

#### 6.1.1 Summary of ‘conversational’ types of IEP

The following kinds of evidence, found in the use of extraposition, of register-interference has been seen in the various extraposition (IEP) structural types seen to be characteristic of conversation. An increased use of *that*-complements, which “express facts”, as opposed to infinitival clauses describing actions (cf. Hyland and Tse 2002; Collins 1994 : 18 ‘division of labour’: Kaltenböck 2004: 77 across text categories) would have suggested perhaps a more academic kind of genre representation by the learners. However there is a vast preponderance of non-finite clauses in extraposition (cf. table 5.1 above) relative to overall norms of NSE use. Zero-*that* complementisers, however, are generally taken to be a feature of the spoken register (e.g. Kaltenböck 2004 78) as also are the borderline categorial types with *like* and *as* complementisers. Evidence to the contrary found here regarding the former zero-*that* types with a low proportion of zeros found in IEP constructions in the NICLE corpus (as opposed to Bostrom Aronsson’s 2005 observation of the Swedish learners who did show a degree of *that*-deletion). Further evidence of register-interference from conversation is observed in the ‘overstatement’ types of multiple themes including both subjective and interpersonal comments; and also the degree of idiomatic matrix predicates (e.g. *it is a fact that*) reflect an informal style. Findings of a significant use of Kaltenböck’s given complement extraposition and omit cases (dealt with above) also indicate register interference.

#### 6.1.2 Semantic categories of matrix predicates

Following Herriman (2000b 596) and Boström Aronsson’s (2005)) typology of semantic categories (see Appendix for the full classification of matrix predicates according to syntactic extraposed clause types) a classification was made of the modal meanings expressed in the matrix predicate (relative to extraposed clause type) in the attempt to discover whether the NICLE writers’ *kind* of use diverges from the other groups qualitatively, or whether the Swedish and Norwegian groups exhibit similar patterns of modal expression. Results from

NICLE are compared to the NSE novice writers in LOCNESS, and the Swedish learners- as portrayed in Boström Aronsson's (2005 91) reports. Both the present report from NICLE and Boström Aronsson have presently excluded the structural category of 'obligatory' types- *seems / appears*, (cf. perception); and as passive constructions, which generally involve reporting verbs and mental / cognitive type categories, were excluded in Boström Aronsson reports they are not included in the table (however are listed in the appendix).

The following table summarises the relative proportions of the reports of kinds of theme (absolute numbers are excluded from this consideration, see appendix for further description) in the present analysis of NICLE, and Boström Aronsson's report of SWICLE and LOCNESS

	NICLE	SWICLE (f)	LOCNESS (f)
Epistemic Truth	15.4%	(20%) 4.18	(20.6%) 1.89
Perception	0.9%	(0.3%) 0.06	- -
Total Epistemic	T 16.3%	T(20.3%)4.24	(20.6%) 1.89
Deontic Obligation			
Volition	6.4%	(6.3%) 1.32	(13.8%) 1.26
Total Deontic	0.3%	- -	(2.5%) 0.23
	T 6.7%	T(6.3%) 1.32	(16.3%) 1.49
Dynamic Potentiality			
Circumstance	28.2%	(24.4%) 5.10	(18.8%) 1,71
Human Attribute	3.2%	(4.9%) 1.03	(6.3%) 0.57
Total Dynamic	1.6%	(1.6%) 0.34	- -
	T 33.0%	T(31.0%) 6.47	T(25%) 2.29
Evaluation:Significance	16.9%	(16.2%)	(9.4%) 0.86
Emotive	3.7%	(8.5%)	(3.8%) 0.34
General	3.5%	(7.7%)	(8.1%) 0.34
Appropriate	14.0%	(7.4%)	(13.1%) 0.74
Frequency	2.9%	(2.7%)	(3.8%) 1.20
Total Evaluation	T 44%	T (42,5%) 8.87	T (38.1%) 3.49
Total	T 100%	T 100.1% 20.9	T (100%) 9.15

As the above comparison of NICLE and SWICLE learners with NSE novice writers (LOCNESS) suggests; the Norwegian and Swedish learners proportional representation in the expression of the various semantic subtypes follow similar patterns to each other, and are similarly distinct to the NSE learners. The main comparison between the learner groups and the NSE group concerns the learners' under-representation of Obligation types of Deontic meanings (such as *it is necessary*), and overrepresentation in the Dynamic category of "potentiality" (frequently represented by *easy/possible* types in the learner material) and overrepresentation of the Significance subtype in Evaluations. One area where the Norwegians distinguish themselves from the Swedish learners, in showing similar proportions to the NSE writers are within the semantic subtypes of evaluation in appropriateness and emotive reactions, whereas the Swedes over-represent Emotive meanings and underuse Appropriateness meanings. However these distinctions, while going further (quantitatively) in the Norwegians favour as opposed to any opposite trends (where the Swedes categorial meanings more closely follow the NSE patterns than the Norwegian- these proportions are less distinct) and thus possibly suggesting the Norwegians are closer in their kind of meanings s extraposition is employed for; the overall similarities between the two Scandinavian groups is again more supportive of a transfer based explanation in learner's overuse of extraposition, rather than the developmental attribution of differential use between novice writers and professional writers.

## 6.2 Evidence on special genre of argumentation: task-setting influences

### 6.2.1 Topic repetition and 'prompted' task variable design

The following examples of extrapositions (underlined) as topic repetitions (italicised) in NICLE, exemplify the prompted nature of expressions of stance in extrapositions revealed in NICLE. The summary nature of these repetitive 'on topic' types, is further emphasised by their positions in the text ('p/' indicates paragraph initial; 'p//' essay initial sentence; '/p' paragraph final; '//p' essay final sentence'), suggestive of the learner writers guiding the structure of their writing in direct response to the opinion-eliciting task type:

In my opinion I think it is very sad , and that it does not gain the cause of women, *that feminists may ,to many people seem to have done more harm than good.* But I do feel



that this is related to the troubles that the consciousness of liberating women issues represent in a maledominated society, to such a large extent still dominated by male thinking. {/P/} I think it is important to establish that men and women might be different, but that women's way of thinking, their experience, should be regarded with more respect than is the case today. And to bring out alternative thinking, and to bring out consciousness and knowledge about women's situation, I think we need feminists. <ICLE-NO-UO-0016.2> {/P//P/}

It has been claimed that if Marx was alive in the end of the 20th century he would change his famous statement "religion is the opium of masses" to "television is the opium of masses". <ICLE-NO-BE-0023.1> {P//}

It has been said that feminists have done more harm to the cause of women than good. In my essay I want to give a historical background for the feminist movement before I discuss for and against this statement. <ICLE-NO-OS-0022.1> {P//}

(15) Instead of the sedative and painkilling effect of religion, the statement will now contain the addictive effect of television. This is not a major of content, and therefore it is fair to claim *that Marx would have said that television is the opium of masses if he was alive at the end of the 20th century.* <ICLE-NO-BE-0023.1> {/P/}

(13) Is it really the case that crime does not pay? <ICLE-NO-BE-0018.1> {/P/}

(60) If we look at the historical background for the feminist movement, it is difficult to take a statement as "Feminists have done more harm to the cause of women than good" seriously. <ICLE-NO-OS-0022.1> {p/}

In regard to the interactive nature of the respondents' language, many of their comments given in the form of extraposition are metadiscoursal (such as the previous example, given above) and self-consciously refer to the process of commenting itself, for example:

(61) But whether it is right to say that they have done more harm than good, is somewhat difficult to decide. <ICLE-NO-BE-0021.1>

(58) Though, it has to be remembered that this is all very subjective and there will never be one homogeneous comment to such a provocative statement. <ICLE-NO-BE-0021.1> {/P/} {-----}

(57) Yes, it is true that TV has got a major role in society, and probably too big a role. <ICLE-NO-UO-0015.1> {P/}

(52) In this essay I will give my own view of this statement. I let it be entirely up to you to make a conclusion. <ICLE-NO-OS-0020.1> {/P//}

### 6.2.2 Chinese formulaic responses compared with NICLE (OV + IEP v. SS + IEP)

While many instances were observed within the NICLE material of concomitant expressions of subjective and objective themes (multiple themes containing subjective and objective interpersonal metaphors- or subjective stance and extrapositions- ‘SS + IEP’) giving a personal flavour to the extrapositions, only 1 such concomitant instance was found in the Chinese L1 corpus sample (CHICLE). In fact, a substantial proportion of subjective stance thematic expressions may be described as “textual”, of the type *I will discuss*, in sharp contrast to the Norwegian learner groups overuse of subject stance to mark a more interpersonal functionality of ‘this is my opinion’ in *I think / feel / believe*, etc.. A further difference in the use of extraposition between the two learner groups is revealed in their relative use of ‘other voices’ as combined with extraposition. As opposed to the type of combination typically seen here in the NICLE material with what has been described as a “heteroglossic” or interactive style in the presentation of other people’s comments in combined OV + IEP types such as *some think it is ....* (see above examples); the CHICLE learner group’s use is given in the corpus material in these combined ‘OV + IEP’ instances (representing approximately one sixth of the instances of extraposition: 8 in 46 extrapositions found are of this type- see Appendix) most likely “intertextual” references to the material presented in the exam question although the third party represented in the material has been deleted from the record (these examples show as *<R> states that it is ...*).

### 6.3 Developmental evidence

The present report on the LOCNESS sample, putting aside these limitations in terms of issues of comparability (problems beyond sample size involving lack of profiling, task type uncontrolled vs. NICLE as regards exam conditions, further lack of learner variable controls regarding age/ educational level/ task type; some university level, some A-levels younger students), suggests that the NICLE learners, then, do not appear to be overusing the extraposition construction from a contrastive point of view, when comparing corpus materials of a suitable genre, i.e. the persuasive student essay. We may contrast such an analysis to those external reports of potential overuse in Hasselgård 2009 whose possible findings of the collapsed category of overuse of empty theme types of anticipatory *it* and *there* structures which may be distinguished as this pronouncement of overuse is based on comparisons of disparate non-persuasive, text types. However, Boström Aronsson’s report (2005) of overuse

of objective interpersonal metaphors by Swedish learners relative to LOCNESS, remains in regard to the genre variable, persuasive. Any contended overuse of extraposition would, in the current analysis based on the presently collated LOCNESS sample, appear to be related to 'developmental' rather than transfer related interference as in this case both NSE and NNSE students 'overuse' the extraposition construction in their persuasive writing to a comparable extent. The present comparison using the LOCNESS corpus, once again suggests the sensitivity of extraposition to the persuasive nature of the genre, particularly as regards topic provocativeness (cf. Bostrom Aronssons discussion on the SWICLE topics being less opinion-provoking than her LOCNESS sample). A major concern here is however, the lack of profiling with particular regard to whether in fact these students are L1 "native speakers" of English. This concern is emphasised in the clustering of high-end values for extraposition (and subjective stance, these high values also tend to coincide in particular essays) in particular instances of essays.

## 7 CONCLUSION

### 7.1. Summary of findings

The Norwegian writers in NICLE have demonstrated both a quantitative and qualitative use of extraposition which represents a departure from the prototypical impersonal function of extraposition. Their relative overuse of the structure has been seen to be influenced by the task setting variables in relation to the prompted nature in their interactive style of excessive presentations of both “objective” and subjective modes of commenting, seen especially in the ‘modally clustered’ structures containing ‘sourced’ – as opposed to ‘impersonal’ extrapositions (and further the use of ‘other voices’ referred to in these sourced structures); and also in the use of given complement extrapositions (often involving topic repetitions). Evidence from the collated corpora samples suggested that this overuse was likely the result of a combination of factors, but in particular evidence for the transfer hypothesis was substantive. Further evidence of the transfer of cultural patterns of rhetoric was suggested by the comparison with the Chinese learner essays, in particular, although such an influence is impossible to disentangle from other variables related especially to the question of task setting (as the Chinese group wrote in exam conditions, and the form of the questions as regards secondary sources was not made clear in the material). Overall the effect of the combined ‘personal’ style of use of extraposition may be comparable with previous observations of Scandinavian register-interference evidenced in the ICLE subcorpora (cf. Ädel). The developmental explanation, which would have Norwegian and other interlanguage argumentative writing comparable in their expressions of stance (cf. extraposition as ‘objective stance’), was not substantiated, due to the combined cultural and register-interference trends observed; further it would seem that the novice NSE writers understand the academic writing conventions requiring impersonal student writing (cf. Hyland 2006), whereas their learner counterparts show not only an overuse of subjective stance marking (reported previously and in the present study) but also this personalised style in the use of the objective thematic comment structure of extraposition.

### 7.2 Pedagogical implications

Due to a difficulty in disambiguating the multitude of variables influencing the learners writing, it is impossible to say to exactly what extent the learner’s pedagogical background has influenced their argumentative writing. However, it may be observed that Norwegian secondary schools (*ungdoms* schools) would seem to surround the teaching of argumentation

in relation to an oral context, more than may perhaps be the case in the British counterparts (for example in teacher handbooks the instructions for the teaching of argumentation often involve oral exercises: cf. Berge et al. 2009: 39; Berge et. al. 2010: 39-41). Further, Evensen reports that in the nationwide written examination (recorded in the KAL project corpus, cf. Evensen 2005 11) only one in five students chose to respond to the “resonnerede” (argumentative) style essay choice, whereas the narrative style script dominates (Evensen 2005 208-9), and finally, that there is an emphasis on “personal expression” is revealed in the orientation of written assessment task design (Berge reported in Evensen, *ibid*). An increased focus at these levels on written argumentation in a less personal manner, may result in learners use of the impersonal extraposition construction to be more in accord with NSE argumentative norms.

### **7.3. Beyond**

To further confirm the present analysis of register-interference (in the ‘oral’ and ‘personal’ style of argumentation seen in NICLE) as well as transfer effects (evidenced by an overuse of *it*- structures such as extraposition in the sentence initial position) in the Norwegian language originals as well as the Norwegian learners’ use of extraposition in their argumentative writing, it may be necessary to look beyond the corpora considered presently, for instance the inclusion of a sample of Norwegian language “professional” academic writing may go some way to disambiguate the range of factors involved in the consideration of the NICLE essays. While the special genre of NICLE writing may be useful for evidencing factors such as transfer of word order patterns, the question of whether the writers are acquiring the norms of professional argumentative writing would seem to imply the need for considerations of what these norms are across cultures, and thus the contrastive comparison (cf. for example Shaw’s 2004 study on the Danish academic writing) of the L1 originals, while considering the effects of the general domain of discourse, bearing in mind that, for instance, topics for broad public consumption (such as those covered in the NICLE material and which might be found in newspaper editorials, for example) may implicate a more ‘personalised’ rhetorical style across cultures than various subject fields within academic writing. As Shaw (2009 216-7) points out “... learner genres are not ends in themselves... it is relevant to ask whether the way linking items are used in learner genres is appropriate in real-life genres.” and while the special genre of NICLE (prompted, topics of common knowledge basis, etc.) may reflect a useful learning genre, it is questionable whether the untimed materials of the NICLE corpus achieve such an aim of truly representing the academic genre.

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<http://www.fltr.ucl.ac.be/fltr/germ/etan/cecl/Cecl-Projects/Icle/icle.htm>

(& accessed 2009 CD-ROM edition ICLEv2, cf. Granger et al. 2009)

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## **APPENDICES CORPUS MATERIALS**

### **APPENDIX 1**

#### **NICLE**

**Totals- 146 141 words total, 208 essays on 9 topics (as below in summary table)**

#### **NICLE TOPICS: Suggested essay titles (cf. Granger et. al. 2009: 213)**

1. Crime does not pay.
2. The prison system is outdated. No civilised society should punish its criminals: it should rehabilitate them.
3. Most university degrees are theoretical and do not prepare students for the real world. They are therefore of very little value.
4. A man/woman's financial reward should be commensurate with their contribution to the society they live in.
5. The role of censorship in Western society.
6. Marx once said that religion was the opiate of the masses. If he was alive at the end of the 20th century, he would replace religion with television.
7. All armies should consist entirely of professional soldiers: there is no value in a system of military service.
8. The Gulf War has shown us that it is still a great thing to fight for one' country.
9. Feminists have done more harm to the cause of women than good.
10. In his novel Animal Farm, George Orwell wrote "All men are equal: but some are more equal than others". How is this true today?
11. In the words of the old song "Money is the root of all evil".
12. Europe: loss of sovereignty or birth of a nation?
13. In the 19th century, Victor Hugo said: "How sad it is to think that nature is calling out but humanity refuses to pay heed." Do you think it is still true nowadays?
14. Some people say that in our modern world, dominated by science technology and industrialisation, there is no longer a place for dreaming and imagination. What is your opinion?

**Summary of NICLE findings total extrapositions and subjective stance themes**

**(IEP: it extraposition ; n-bor/ bord: non-borderline/borderline *seems/appears* types included ; SS- subjective stance)**

TOPIC	n. essays	n. words	n. IEP	final n-bor bord	n. SS	IEP /10000	SS/	IEP count 2 n. all
1 CRIME  seems/app	19	11695	51 (?64)	43 (65)	40	43 (?54.7)	34.2	42 / 64
2 PRISON	33	23164	69 (?102)	67 (101)	82	29.8 (44?)	35.4	66 102
3 UNI	37	22515	88	76 (125)	106	39		76 125
6 TV	28	17639 X 16912	61	61 (98)	73	34.6 X 36.6		61 100
7 ARMY	27	18780 (93793 )	63	52 (92)	90	33.5		52 (297)= 31.7 93 (40 object, 75 truncated, 40 verb, 25 'c' ,
9 FEMINIS M	26	17768	63	51 (94)	49	35.5		
10 ORWELL =	18	12029	38	34 (50)	37	31.6		
14 IMAGINA	20	14000	45	<b>39</b>		32.1		

TION		X 15152	(152)	(63)	(348)	X 25.7  (30.3 rest; 34934 words)		
ABORTIO N	13	8670	52	53 (75)	40	60.0		
TOTAL S  seems/ap pears	208	14626 0	530	476 = v.3 32.5 /  n.  incl. b: (763)  (= 52.2)		36.2 / 10 000 words)		

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## LOCNESS

### *Summary results table LOCNESS sample*

Topic ~ Essay code	n. words	n. IEP	n. SS	(SS + IEP)	borderline counted/ not ; text position IEP, SS	rates / 10000 IEP  SS
Topic 1 computer replaced the brain						

ICLE-ALEV-0001.6		6	3	(1)	(1/ - ) ; all /p/, 2 //p// other clustered with	
2		2	3	(1)	- ; 1 //p, -	
3		0	1	(0)	- ; - . //p	
4		1	0	(0)	(1 seems / -); p/	
5		0	0	(0)	_ / (1 object)	
6		1	1	(0)	_ / (1 textual SS re-+, <i>I conclude</i> )	
7		0	0	(0)	( _ / truncated / zero that, non-canonical)	
8		3	3		_ ; all /p/ - 2 clustered	
9		2	0	(0) (1 OV + IEP)	(1 SS not counted textual <i>we remember</i> ); all /p// , -	
10		2	1	(0)	1 seems ; SS borderline counted textual <i>As I have said</i> , 2 not counted textual SS <i>we must remember/ assume</i> ; 1 p/, 1p/	
topic 1 (10 essays)	4653	17	12	2 SS + IEP ; 1 OV + IEP		36.5 25.7
Topic 2 Sovereign Britia in EC						



ICLE-BR-SUR-0001.3		2 (1 NEP)	2	(0)	2 borderline- 1 truncated-non-canonical explicit , 1 truncated – it continuum ;	
2		1	0	(0)	1 borderline not counted when-clause truncated it continuum	
18		2	3	(0)	-	
19		2	1	(0)	-	
20		10	1	(1)	(1 borderline not counted truncated non-canonical aside ;	
21		1	4	(0)	- ; 1 borderline SS not counted, experiential <i>if my experience ahs taught me anything it is that ...</i> ;	
22		0	0	(0)	- ; 1 not counted <i>we never accepted ...</i> ;	
23		3	0	(0)	- ; - ;	
24		1	3	(0)	(1 seems / 1 not counted truncated given ) ; 1 borderline SS counted <i>we talk about X as if ...</i> ; 1 SS not counted textual reference in text ' <i>I use the term correctly</i> )' ; 2	

					clusered SS clauses ;	
25		1 (1 NEP)	4	(0) (1OV + IEP)	- ; clustered SS 2 pairs ;	
26		3	0		- ; 2 borderline SS not counted 1 textual both <i>we we could see , we take T to mean</i>	
27		3	10 +	(3: 2 in situ including 1 coincide counted in IEP only <i>It is my belief that ...</i> , 1 clauses)	- ; 1 borderline counted SS <i>I can see a future for</i>	
28		1	1		- , 1 not counted it-cleft ; - ;	
29		0	0		- ;	
30		0	1		- ;	
31		3	0		- ;	
32		4	0		- ; 1 not counted SS <i>we would look at the future ...</i>	
33		0	5		- ; 1 included SS <i>we have seen that ...</i>	
(18 essays)	10059	37	35	3 SS + IEP 1 OV + IEP		36.7 SS 34.8
Topic 3 'in vitro' fertilisation						

<ICLE-ALEV-0003.8>		5	2	1 (1 OV + IEP)	1 borderline counted matrix irregular –ing * <i>It is only fair IN helping herto have her baby</i>	
4		3	11	(NB. 1 clauses not sourced)	1 alternating counted ;	
5		0	2		2 not counted borderline truncated ; 1 SS counted pseudo-cleft	
6		0	2	(NB. object IEP OV + IEP-o)	1 not counted object extraposition ; 1 borderline counted SS : separated zero <i>I think so. ;</i>	
7		4	6	2 (1 in situ, 1 sentences)	- /2 not counted borderline 1 very borderline : it-cleft ? <i>The embryo will then be placed in the womens womb where it is hoped that a normal pregnancy will take place.;</i> 1 object IEP ; 1 SS not counted textual ;	
8		3	4	1 in situ (1 not counted object IEP OV + IEP)	1 pseudo-cleft counted; 3 borderline not counted: 1 non-canonical, truncated . 1	

					object IEP . 1 , truncated explicit ; 1 NEP ;	
9		1	3	1 clauses	1 counted non-canonical truncated <i>As a result I believe that people should not have the right to choose the sex of their child as it is unnatural and unnecessary and {...} ;</i>	
10		7	1	(0 – not related)	2 not counted borderline 1 object IEP + seems ; 1 intransitive type <i>it remains that ...</i>	
11		2	3	(0)	- ;	
12		2	3			
(9 essays)	5516	27	37	5 (and 1 OV + IEP)  (NB. 2 object IEP OV + IEP)		48.9  SS 67.0
TOTAL 37 essays	20228	67 non borderline (of 81)	84	total 10 subjectively sourced IEPs; 3 'other voice' sourced IEPs		IEP 33.1 (/ 40.4)  SS / 41.5

Key: IEP – it extraposition, SS – subjective stance markers, SS + IEP- co-occurring extraposition and subjective stance (rates, per 10 000 words)

Summary table of frequency of use of extraposition and subjective stance marking in the LOCNESS corpus of native speakers of English (A-levels and university) student persuasive essays.

<b>Topic</b>	n. essays	n. words	<b>n. IEP</b>	n. SS	n. subjective sourced extrapositions	“ n. OV + IEP	<b>IEP / 10000 words</b>	SS / 10000 words
1. Has the computer made the brain redundant?	10	4653	17	12	2	1	36.5	25.7
2. A single Europe: A loss of sovereignty for Britain	18	10059	37	35	3	1	36.7	34.8
3 ‘In vitro’ fertilisation	9 (2 essays – 11 and 12 –	5516	27	37	5	1	48.9	67.0

(& Genetic Manipulation : "Scientists must bear the major burden of moral responsibility for the consequences of their work".)	are on genetic manipulation)							
<b>Total</b>	37 essays	20228	<b>67 (81)</b>	84	10	2	<b>33.1 (40.4)</b>	41.5
total 'sourced' extrapositions					12		5.9 / 10 000	

NB need more info re locness corpus: - Native Speakers of English ? (Bsur3, topic 2 profiles -get)

- Exams (topic 1, 3) vs. not Exams - are exams timed, reference tools available?

**Topic 1.** cf. topic 14: 4653 words, 10 essays locness on has the computer made the brain redundant?  
cf. topic 14 NICLE : in the modern world we have no time for dreaming and imagination

essays used: (Alevels6 file) <ICLE-ALEV-0001.6> to <ICLE-ALEV-0010.6>

4653 words; NB> exams; IEP total 17; SS total 12;; i.e. IEP 36.5 / 10000 ; SS 25.7/ 10000

**Topic 2.** brit sur 3, 16 'profiled' partially (no.'s 18-33) essays on 'A single Europe: A loss of sovereignty for Britain' . ; also no.'s 1,2; i.e. <ICLE-BR-SUR-0018.3> - etc.

8972 + 1087 words. = 10059; Not exams; IEP total 37; SS total 35; i.e. IEP : 36.7 / 10000; i.e. SS : 34.8/ 10000

**Topic 3.** 'in vitro' fertilisation ; A levels 8; 9 essays <ICLE-ALEV-0003.8> to <ICLE-ALEV-0010.8>;  
{NB> 2 essays , 11 & 12 are on : Genetic Manipulation : "Scientists must bear the major burden of moral responsibility for the consequences of their work". <ICLE-ALEV-0012.8>}

words: 4532 + 984 = 5516; NB> exams; IEP tot 28 - 1 = 27; SS tot 32 + 5 = 37; i.e. IEP / 10000 words : 48.9; i.e. SS / 10 000 words: 67.0

Overall LOCNESS sample TOT words: = 20228 ; IEP tot n. 81; SS tot n. 84

i.e. IEP / 10000 words : 40.4 (including borderline types)

i.e. SS / 10 000 words: 41.5

## CHICLE

### *Sample information of materials from the Chinese subcomponent of ICLEv2*

*Learner Variables:* L1 Cantonese, Country Hong Kong, Gender ca. 64% female (Granger et al 2009 9), Average age ca. 20.49 (Granger et al 2009 8), Learning context: first year university undergraduates with 13 years school English; Sampled Proficiency levels: B2 (higher intermediate)-19, C1 (advanced)-1, C2 (upper advanced)-0 (Granger et al 2009 11-12).

*Task Variables:* Medium- Written; Genre- “academic essay” (Granger et al 2009 4); Field- general English rather than ESP, *ibid*); Length (av.)- 554 words; Topics (see below); Task setting- exam conditions, timed, no reference tools

Total: 36 essays, 19961 words

Argumentative essays on 2 topics: railway and park development issues

Topics

1) Railway: 4389 words 9 essays, codes CNHK 1047- 1055

2) Develop HK Country Park: 15 572 words, 27 essays, codes CNHK1083-1101, CNHK1751, CNHK1753-9

### **CHICLE sample - table of results** (See key below for subtypes)

Essay	IEP- non borderline (subtypes: */**/^/^^)	SS(^/^^)(T)	OV (*/**)	Rate/10000Words
Topic Park				(T 15 572,27)
CNHK1083		1T		
CNHK1084		1		
CNHK1085		3(1T)		
CNHK1086		4(2T)		
CNHK1087		1		
CNHK1088	2	3 (2T)		
CNHK1089	1	4(1T, 1^)		
CNHK1090	1	4T		
CNHK1091	1*	3T,1		

CNHK1092	3	2T(NB 1 rec)		
CNHK1093	2	1T		
CNHK1094	1*	1T,3(2 redundant,)		
CNHK1095	1,1*?	2T		
CNHK1096	3 (1*)			
CNHK1097	1	2,2T(NB 1 rec)		
CNHK1098				
CNHK1099	1* (gen typ*), 1*(R), 1	2T,1		
CNHK1100		1T		
CNHK1101	4 (1*)	1T,1		
CNHK1751	2	2(redundant)		
CNHK1753	4 (all in 1 para), 1	1T,2(redundant),1^,		
CNHK1754	1(*?)	1T,1(red unmarked disjunct- personally)		
CNHK1755		1(?T)		
CNHK1756	1	3(2red, I next S like)		
CNHK1757	1*	2		
CNHK1758	2(1seems)	1		
CNHK1759	1	2		
Subtotal	34 (7 zero; ca.8* textual reporting evidence types))	61 (2 zero, 28T <i>I will discuss</i> types- gen in introduction, 2^SS+IEP types!)		
Topic Rail				(T 4389/10 )
CNHK1047	2	1T		
CNHK1048	2	1T		



CNHK1049	1 (non-arg)	1		
CNHK1050		3(1T)		
CNHK1051	2 (1^^)	1T,1		
CNHK1052		1		
CNHK1053	1 (it?)			
CNHK1054	1	1T (1borderline no 'I'... <i>personally</i> )		
CNHK1055		2T,2		
(Sub)		(14: 5T)		
TOTAL	38 non-borderline (46 total /8*- see OV not so much People think that it is ... OV ? IEP but most often <R> states that ... assume that <R> is material provided in the exam question, cf. only 2 SS+IEP types and see textual SS types)	75 (2 SS ? IEP types, 33- almost half- are textual ('T')types- <i>I will discuss</i> usually in intro- note CHNK none but 8 IEP)	161	(Total words 19961)  IEP/10000 = 19.0 (23.0)

#### KEY

\* OV + IEP structure

^ SS+IEP structure

\*\*/ ^^ occurs together (concurrent, independently)

T textual ?SS

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## FRICLE

### *Sample information of materials from the French L1 subcomponent of ICLE*

**34 essays; 20779 words (actual count); IEP = 38.9 / 10 000 words ;**

**Results for extraposition** – 81/ 20 779 (subject IEP, 'n' not borderline, not including seems, etc.): (8 not in theme/ multitheme position)

(40 borderline cases):

\* prison 5 (topic 2), 5 essays :

essay codes : <ICLE-DB-KVH-0008.2>, <ICLE-FR-ULB-0007.2> ,<ICLE-FR-UCL-0081.3>,  
<ICLE-FR-UCL-0086.3>, <ICLE-FR-ULG-0004.2>

\* marx tv opium 5 (topic 6) 5 essays :

essaay codes :<ICLE-FR-ULB-0029.1>, <ICLE-FR-UCL-0078.3>, <ICLE-FR-UCL-0055.3>,  
<ICLE-FR-ULG-0032.1>, <ICLE-FR-ULG-0017.2>

\*technology imagination: 14 , 5 texts:

essay codes: <ICLE-FR-ULB-0003.1>, <ICLE-FR-ULB-0027.2>, <ICLE-FR-UCL-0028.3>, <ICLE-FR-UCL-0073.3>, <ICLE-FR-ULG-0029.1>

\*university degrees 5 texts (topic 3)

essays codes: <ICLE-FR-ULG-0002.2>, <ICLE-FR-ULG-0021.2>, <ICLE-FR-ULB-0022.2>,  
<ICLE-FR-ULB-0024.2>, <ICLE-FR-ULG-0011.1>

\*feminists 4 texts, topic 9

essay codes: <ICLE-FR-ULB-0009.1>, <ICLE-FR-UCL-0065.3>, <ICLE-FR-UCL-0077.3>, <ICLE-FR-ULG-0027.1> ,

\*orwell, animal farm, some more equal than other's, 5 texts, topic 10

essay codes: <ICLE-FR-ULB-0012.1>, <ICLE-FR-UCL-0059.3>, <ICLE-FR-ULB-0019.2>, <ICLE-FR-ULG-0015.1>, <ICLE-FR-ULB-0008.2>

\* conscription 5 texts, topic 7

essay codes: <ICLE-FR-ULB-0020.2>, <ICLE-FR-UCL-0053.3>, <ICLE-FR-UCL-0070.3>, <ICLE-FR-UCL-0095.3>, <ICLE-FR-UCL-0097.3>

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## NORSKESKOLEFORUM Sample information

20,733 words in 20 Essays in “resonnerende” section of skoleforum  
(<http://www.skoleforum.com/stiler/resonnerende/>), on 7 topics, ages 13-16 (av. =? 15),  
language: bokmål (Norwegian); accessed 12/ 6/ 2006 & 4/3/2007):

### *Norskeskoleforum corpus compilation records*

(my) code	topic / ?age	title /ID	(length, n. words)	n. IEPs (n. SS + IEP)	n. SS
NO-SK-2-1	<b>abortion</b> / klassetrinn: andre (13/4?)	abort /2816	751	9 (1)	3
-2	/ klassetrinn: ungdomsskolen (12- 15)	abort /5862	693	5  {incl 2 * pga.(å /og)}	0
-3	grunnkurs allmennfaglig (?16)	abortus provocatus /1966	839	7  {incl. 10}	1
NO-SK-1-1	<b>crime punishment</b> / klassetrinn: andre	dødsstraff ... /1753	1155	5	7
-2	/ klassetrinn: andre (14?)	Straff for ungdomsforbrytere?/ 1776	574	2  {incl 10)	4
NO-SK-3-1	<b>tv/ technology</b> / klassetrinn: andre	Vår uunngåelige teknologiske fremtid/ 1678	2524	12 (2)	18
-2	/ klassetrinn:	Data-alderen /1750	702	5	1

	andre				
NO-SK-4-1	<b>tv drug</b> / ungdomsskolen	Fjernsynet- dop eller inspirasjon? / 2386	903	5 (1)	1
NO-SK-5-1	<b>drugs</b> / VK 1 almenn	Narkotikakamp og moral/ 1784	681	9	0
-2	GK almenn <b>?arg</b>	Ungdom og deres økende narkotika misbruk / 1745	1383	3	6
NO-SK-6-1	<b>environment</b> / Klassetrinn: Andre	Har vi et ansvar for jorda? / 1651	1165	6	5
-2	Klassetrinn: Andre	Drivhuseffekten (global warming)/ 1656	690	1	0
-3	Klassetrinn: VK II almenn	Gasskraft / 2367	2148	8	2
-4	Klassetrinn: Andre	Regnskogen / 2442	693	2 {not incl. 1 O)	0
NO-SK-7-1	<b>immigration</b> / Klassetrinn: Andre	Asylsøkere /1653	893	10	1
-2	VK 1 almenn	Innvandring i Norge / 6441	1164	3	1
NO-SK-8-1	<b>media</b> / Klassetrinn: VK 1 almenn	"Medie- ansvar" / 2567	835	1	4
-2	VK II almenn	Medieutviklingen og det politiske systemet / 3163	1529	7	3
-3	Klassetrinn: Andre	Radio- og fjernsynsmonopolets oppløsning / 1770	900	4 (1)	1
-4	Klassetrinn: Andre	Reklame - Positive og negative sider / 1772	511	5	1

TOTAL- 20 essays,			20,733 words	118 IEP (5 SS + IEP)  56.9/ 10000	59SS

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### ***NICLE Semantic subtypes***

Following Boström Aronsson 2005 delineation of semantic categories, apart from the treatment of passive and ‘obligatory’ types which are recorded separately below, the findings in NICLE are as follows: NICLE

**Epistemic:** **Truth** *that*-clause, AP true (6), obvious (3), clear (6), not likely (1), certain (1), undisputable(1), well-known (2) NP the case (1?), a fact (10), no secret (2), my opinion (1), VP (**hedge**) might be (1), goes without saying (2) one thing to say (1), **to**-clause AP likely\* (1), NP exaggeration (1), **wh**-clause doubtful (1) **Perception** *that*-clause, VP strike us (1) been seen (1B)

**Seems/appears** borderline type looks (like) (1)

**Deontic:** **Obligation** *to*-clause, AP necessary (9), needless (1), compulsory (1), PP up to someone (1) *for-to*-clause, AP necessary (2), VP prohibited by law (2), required (1), **that**-clause written in the constitution (1) NP society’s job (1), the only solution (1), X’s responsibility (1), the duty of (1) **Volition** *that*-clause, NP her idea (1)

**Dynamic:** **Potentiality** *that*-clause AP possible (2, 1?), NP a problem (1) *to*-clause, AP impossible (9), hard (10), not hard (2), harder (1), difficult (7), easy (18,2B), easier (3), so much easy\* (1), not easy (2), possible (26, 4?), not possible (3), difficult and sometimes impossible (1-OV), problematic (1) *for-to*-clause, AP possible (2,1?), easier (1), impossible (1), difficult (4), not easy (1),

**Circumstance** *that*-clause, NP always a risk (1 *it*\*) *to*-clause, AP too late (1), expensive (1), very economical (1) VP takes more work (1), cost the society less money (1), takes [time period] (5)

**Human Attribute** *to*-clause AP both naive and terribly idealistic (1), VP takes a lot of discipline

**Evaluation** **Significance** *to*-clause, AP important (30), crucial (1), essential (1) **wh**-clause, AP important (1), VP matter (2, 1\**if*), worthwhile (1) NP no longer a question (1), an interesting thought

(1B)*that*-clause important (6) elementary (1), *for-to*-clause, AP important (2), **Emotive reaction** *that*-clause, AP not surprising (4), *to*-clause AP boring (1), interesting (3), touching (1), traumatizing (1) NP a shame (1) *wh*-clause frightening (1), *-ing* clause AP valuable and inspiring (1), **General evaluation** *that*-clause AP better (2) NP an unfortunate fact (category, vs. epistemic) (1), *to*-clause AP nice (2), useful (2), *wh*-clause AP better (*if*-), NP a good idea (4) **Appropriateness** *that*-clause AP strange (2), peculiar (1), wrong (2), right (10), morally right (1), stupid (1), fair (1?) NP no wonder (1), *to*-clause AP stupid (1), wise (1), politically correct (1), more effective (1), feel more useful (1), right (2), wrong (1), fair (3), normal (1), realistic (1) *for-to*-clause, AP healthy (1), acceptable NP the right thing to do (1?), a waste of money (1), a terrible sin (1) PP in the best interest of society (10V), of great help (1), VP won't do any good (1), won't do (1), not said without reason (1), make sense (1), *wh*-clause AP strange (1), realistic (*if*-) zero NP a simple message (1) *-ing* clause AP strange (3) **Frequency** *that*-clause, AP far from uncommon (1) NP a common view (1), *to*-clause AP common (4), far-fetched (1), NP a trend (1) *for-to*-clause not usual (1), not unusual (1)

### Mental/ Verbal (passives) processes

(Gen cf. Epistemic) *to*-clause shown (2to\*/that), *that*-clause proved (1)

(cf. listed in above category: common view)

**Verbal** *that*-clause argued (3), said (7), said about people in general (1), safe to say (1), claimed (2), If it is right to claim (1), right to say (1), proclaimed (1), should be mentioned (3), proven/d (4), agreed (3), has to be stated (1), remembered (1) concluded, been shown (3) *wh*-clause discussed (1), decided (2), questioned (2)

**Mental Cognition** *to*-clause NP our purpose (1) considered a criminal act (1) **Affect** *-ing* makes us feel good (1)